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Eisenhower, Nixon Re-elected, Democrats Keep Congress

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HOW LOBBIES FARED IN 1956

Page 1358**BY CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY NEWS FEATURES***The Authoritative Reference on Congress*

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Congressional Quiz

Here's a quiz to test your knowledge of the Congressional committee system, a crucial element in the legislative process. Try for 3 out of 5.

1. Q--Sen. Harry Flood Byrd (D Va.) recently said election of a Democratic Congress was "very important" to the South because southerners held so many committee chairmanships. About how many committee chairmen come from the South: (a) one-third; (b) one-half; (c) more than one-half? (one point)

A--(c). Of the 34 standing committees in the Senate and House, southern Democrats hold the chairmanship of 19 in the current Congress: nine in the Senate and 10 in the House. This total does not include chairmen from the Southwest or from border states, nor does it include chairmen of special, select or joint committees.



2. Q--So important is the role of the committee chairman that Woodrow Wilson once said the U.S. had "a government by the chairmen of the standing committees of Congress." How are these chairmen selected: (a) by seniority in Congress; (b) by seniority in committee; (c) election by majority caucus; (d) election by committee? (one point)

A--(b) and (d) both are correct. Chairmen nominally are elected by their respective committees, but the choice in fact is dictated by

seniority within the committee. Chairmen, of course, always are drawn from the majority party.

3. Q--True or false: The party with the majority in Congress must always have a majority in committee. (one point)

A--False. Generally speaking, the majority party will have committee majorities too, but there's no hard and fast rule. In 1954, for example, the House Veterans' Committee had an even party split. A Republican, Edith Nourse Rogers (Mass.), was chairman.

4. Q--The Senate currently has 15 standing committees. Does the House have: (a) more than 15; (b) less than 15; (c) the same number? (one point)

A--(a). The number of standing committees for each chamber was fixed by the Legislative Re-organization Act of 1946 which cut the total number of Senate committees from 35 to 15, the total number of House committees from 48 to 19.

5. Q--True or false: Senators may serve on more than one committee, but House Members are limited to one. (one point)

A--False. Senators can and do serve on more than one committee. Representatives once were limited to membership on one major committee. But House rules were changed in 1953 -- when the Republicans had only a slim majority -- to permit service on more than one major committee.

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Political Notes

EISENHOWER-NIXON RE-ELECTED, DEMOCRATS KEEP CONGRESS

President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Vice President Richard M. Nixon Nov. 6 were re-elected to second terms defeating Democratic Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates Adlai E. Stevenson and Estes Kefauver in a nation-wide vote of landslide proportions. The Republican national ticket failed, however, to carry a Republican Congress with it.

With 144,710 of 154,874 voting units reported, the unofficial popular vote exceeded 58.6 million, and was expected to surpass the previous record 61.5 million set in the 1952 Presidential election. The record prior to 1952 was in 1940, when the total Presidential vote was over 49.8 million.

In incomplete returns, Mr. Eisenhower's popular vote was over 33,853,438; Stevenson had 24,763,947. Mr. Eisenhower captured 41 states with 457 electoral votes; Stevenson won seven states with 74 electoral votes. (Weekly Report, p. 1331)

This marked a GOP increase from the 1952 Presidential election when Eisenhower won 55.1 percent of the popular vote, and won 39 states with 442 electoral votes, compared to Stevenson's nine states with 89 electoral votes.

The seven states Stevenson carried in the current election were Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, and South Carolina. He picked up Missouri, which he lost in 1952, but lost three states which he carried in 1952: Kentucky, Louisiana, and West Virginia. (See map, p. 1330)

Congressional Elections

The new Senate has 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans, but Sen. Price Daniel (D Texas) must resign since he was elected governor. The Democrats picked up four seats, the Republicans four to leave no change over the party makeup of the 84th Congress. (Weekly Report, p. 1346)

In the House, Democrats captured at least 232 seats, 12 more than necessary for control; the Republicans 200. Three races still were undecided. The day after election, the death of Rep. Antonio M. Fernandez (D N.M.) caused a vacancy which will be filled by a special election. Going into the election, Democrats held 230 seats, the Republicans, 201, with four vacancies, two in each party. Republicans picked up 10 House seats, Democrats 13. Of the three House races still undecided, two were held by Republicans in 1956, one by a Democrat.

In the 1952 Presidential election year, Republicans won control of both chambers. The GOP won 23 Senate seats and had 25 held over, giving it 48 seats. Democrats won 12 seats, with 35 held over, for a total of 47. Sen. Wayne Morse (D Ore.) at that time termed himself an Independent, and voted with the GOP to organize the Senate. In the House, Republicans in 1952 won 221 seats, Democrats 213, with one Independent.

There were 30 governors' races in 1956 including Maine's, decided in a Sept. 10 election. Republicans won in 14 states, Democrats in 15 with Rhode Island un-

Rep. Fernandez Dies

Rep. Antonio M. Fernandez (D N.M.), who had been re-elected to an eighth term as one of New Mexico's Congressmen At Large, died Nov. 7, three days after suffering a stroke. Under state law, his seat is vacant, and a special election will be called to elect a successor.

A former attorney and state legislator, Rep. Fernandez, 54, had served in Congress since 1943. He was a member of the House Appropriations Committee. His Eisenhower Support and Opposition scores for the 84th Congress were 65 percent and 29 percent, respectively; his Party Unity score was 63 percent.

decided. Fourteen Democratic governors were up for election, 16 Republicans. Democrats picked up five governorships; Republicans three. Democrats have a net gain of one governorship, stand to make a net gain of two. (Weekly Report, p. 1346)

In the 35 Senate races, 18 Democrats were elected (31 held over), and 17 Republicans were elected (30 held over). Democrats picked up four seats from Republicans in Colorado, Idaho, Ohio and Pennsylvania; Republicans picked up four seats in Kentucky (2), New York and West Virginia.

Upset of the races was in Idaho, where Frank Church (D) defeated incumbent Sen. Herman Welker (R). Republicans scored a victory in normally Democratic West Virginia where they picked up two House seats and the Senate seat. In South Dakota, Sen. Francis Case (R) came from behind and defeated Kenneth Holum (D). In Kentucky, Sen. Earle C. Clements (D), Assistant Democratic Leader, lost to ex-Rep. Thruston B. Morton (R) in one of the closest of all the Senatorial contests. Incomplete returns gave Morton 479,215 votes to Clements' 474,898 votes.

In Massachusetts' Seventh District, Rep. Thomas J. Lane (D) won re-election, despite having served a prison term of several months for income tax evasion. Republican Edwin H. May Jr. was elected from Connecticut's traditionally Democratic First District. Rep. Thomas J. Dodd (D), of that District, was defeated by Sen. Prescott Bush (R) in the Connecticut Senatorial race. Fifteen women were elected to the House, 13 of them incumbents. The two freshmen are Mrs. Kathryn Granahan (D), who replaces her late husband, Rep. William Granahan, in Pennsylvania's First District, and Mrs. Florence P. Dwyer (R), who defeated Rep. Harrison Williams Jr. (D) in New Jersey's Sixth District. (Weekly Report, p. 1332)

Recounts will be held in two New York Districts: the Seventh, where Rep. James J. Delaney (D) defeated Joseph Stockinger (R); and the 17th, where Rep. Frederic R. Couder, Jr. (R) defeated Anthony Akers (D). In New Jersey's 13th District, where incumbent Rep. Alfred D. Sieminski (D) was defeated by Norman H. Roth (R) by a two-vote margin, a recount also will be held.

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

The Speaker of the House in the 85th Congress, as in the 84th Congress, will be Sam Rayburn (Texas), who has been Speaker in every Democratic-controlled Congress since 1940. House Majority Leader is expected again to be John W. McCormack (Mass.), with Carl Albert (Okla.) as Majority Whip. In the 84th Congress, McCormack gave the President support in 67 percent of the roll-call votes which tested Mr. Eisenhower's strength; Albert gave him 65 percent support. (Weekly Report, p. 975.)

Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas) will be the Senate Majority Leader, as he was in the 84th Congress, when he supported the President on 44 percent of the roll calls. Earle C. Clements (D Ky.) is expected to continue as Majority Whip. Clements' Eisenhower Support score in the 84th Congress was 44 percent.

Republican House leadership will be in the hands of Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass.), with Leslie C. Arends (Ill.) expected to be Minority Whip. In the 84th Congress, Martin's Eisenhower Support score was 81 percent, Arends', 84 percent.

William F. Knowland (Calif.) will be the Senate Minority Leader, with Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.) expected to continue as Minority Whip. Knowland supported Mr. Eisenhower 91 percent of the time in the 84th Congress, Saltonstall, 90 percent.

CONGRESSIONAL SENIORITY

The Congressional elections showed three changes in party seniority rankings of the top five Republicans and Democrats in the Senate and House.

In the Senate, Sen. Carl Hayden (Ariz.) moved up to first place in Democratic seniority, replacing retiring Sen. Walter F. George (Ga.). Sen. H. Alexander Smith (N.J.) replaced retiring Sen. Eugene Millikin (Colo.) in the fifth-ranking Republican position.

In the House, Rep. Charles A. Wolverton (N.J.) moved up to fifth position in Republican seniority, replacing retiring Rep. Clifford Hope (Kan.).

The top five ranking Democrats and Republicans in order in each chamber:

• SENATE: Democrats -- Carl Hayden (Ariz.); Richard B. Russell (Ga.); Harry Flood Byrd (Va.); James E. Murray (Mont.); Dennis Chavez (N.M.).

Republicans -- Styles Bridges (N.H.); Alexander Wiley (Wis.); William Langer (N.D.); George D. Aiken (Vt.); H. Alexander Smith (N.J.).

• HOUSE: Democrats -- Sam Rayburn (Texas); Carl Vinson (Ga.); Clarence Cannon (Mo.) and Emanuel Celler (N.Y.); John W. McCormack (Mass.); Jere Cooper (Tenn.); and Wright Patman (Texas).

Republicans -- Daniel A. Reed (N.Y.); John Taber (N.Y.); Thomas A. Jenkins (Ohio) and Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass.); Edith Nourse Rogers (Mass.); Charles A. Wolverton (N.J.).

EX-CONGRESSMEN RETURN

Two former Senators and two former Representatives, three of them Republicans, one a Democrat, won election to the Senate:

Ex-Rep. John A. Carroll (D Colo. 1947-51), who defeated former Colorado Gov. Dan Thornton (D).

Ex-Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R Ky. 1946-49; 1952-55) who defeated former Kentucky Gov. Lawrence W. Wetherby (D).

Ex-Rep. Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y. 1947-55), who defeated New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner Jr. (D).

Ex-Sen. Chapman Revercomb (R W.Va. 1943-49), who defeated West Virginia Gov. William C. Marland (D).

Five former Representatives, three Democrats and two Republicans, and one former Senator, a Democrat, won election to the House:

Ex-Rep. Walter S. Baring (D Nev. 1949-53), who defeated Richard W. Horton (R).

Ex-Sen. Alton Lennon (D N.C. 1953-55), who defeated C. Dana Malpass (R).

Ex-Rep. Toby Morris (D Okla. 1947-53) who defeated Fred L. Coogan (R).

Ex-Rep. S. Walter Stauffer (R Pa. 1953-55), who defeated incumbent Rep. James M. Quigley (D).

Ex-Rep. Will E. Neal (R W.Va. 1953-55) who defeated incumbent Rep. M.G. Burnside (D).

SENATE DELEGATIONS

In 34 states, both Senators in the 85th Congress will be members of the same party: solidly Republican, 16; solidly Democratic, 18. Senators in each of 14 states will be from opposing parties.

Solid GOP	Solid Democratic	Divided
Calif.	Ala.	Ariz.
Conn.	Ark.	Colo.
Ind.	Fla.	Del.
Iowa	Ga.	Idaho
Kan.	La.	Ill.
Ky.	Miss.	Mass.
Maine	Mo.	Mich.
Md.	Mont.	Minn.
Neb.	N.M.	Nev.
N.H.	N.C.	Ohio
N.J.	Oklahoma	Pa.
N.Y.	Ore.	W.Va.
N.D.	R.I.	Wyo.
S.D.	S.C.	
Utah	Tenn.	
Vt.	Texas	
Wis.	Va.	
	Wash.	

POWELL LEAVING DEMOCRATS?

Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (D N.Y.), who endorsed President Eisenhower for re-election because he was pleased with Mr. Eisenhower's attitude on civil rights, Nov. 6 said he would quit the Democratic party if it "becomes the party of creeping Eastlandism." Powell referred to Sen. James O. Eastland (D Miss.), Chairman of the Judiciary Committee and strongly opposed to the Supreme Court school desegregation decision. (Weekly Report, p. 1257)

AGES OF 85th CONGRESSMEN

The average lawmaker in the new 85th Congress will be 54.9 years old -- over 2½ years older than the average Member of the 84th Congress.

The average Senator in the new Congress will be 57.8 years old, while the age of the average Representative will be 54.5 years. Averages are based on the ages of 95 of 96 Senators and 424 of the 435 House Members, as of Jan. 1, 1957. How the average ages will compare with those for previous Congresses:

Congress	Senate	House	Both Chambers
85th	57.8	54.5	54.9
84th	57.2	51.3	52.2
83rd	56.6	52	53
82nd	56.6	52	53
81st	58.5	51	53.8

The oldest and youngest Senators to take seats in the 85th Congress will be Democrats Theodore Francis Green (R.I.), who is 89, and Frank Church (Idaho), who is 32. Oldest Republican Senator will be Edward Martin (Pa.), 77; the youngest, Charles E. Potter (Mich.), 38.

In the House, youngest Republican will be Rep. Edwin May Jr. (Conn.), 32; and youngest Democrat, Rep. Kenneth Gray (Ill.), 32. Also 32 are Reps. Merwin Coad (D Iowa) and Joe Holt (R Calif.). Oldest House Member will be Brent Spence (D Ky.), 82. Oldest Republicans, all 81, will be Clare E. Hoffman (R Mich.), Will Neal (R W.Va.), and Daniel A. Reed (R N.Y.).

85th CONGRESS PROFESSIONS

Lawyers again will predominate in the 85th Congress, accounting for nearly two-thirds of the membership. And one-third of the Members will have backgrounds in business or banking.

Ninety-nine percent of the Senators and 93 percent of the Representatives have had prior experience in politics or civic service. Fifty-nine percent of the House and 69.8 percent of the Senate are veterans of the armed forces.

Some Congressmen have engaged in more than one profession, which explains why the percentages in the following breakdown total more than 100. A few, such as housewives, fit into no professional category. One Representative is a minister. The Senate tabulation is based on 95 of 96 members; the House, on 424 of 435 members.

	84th Congress		85th Congress	
	Senate	House	Senate	House
Agriculture	22%	11%	21%	11%
Business or Banking	29	29	30	30
Journalism	10	9	11	7
Law	63	56	66	56
Medicine, Den- tistry, Engineer	4	3	4	2
Teaching	18	10	18	10

Election Briefs

President Eisenhower's landslide victory set many records and many firsts in areas around the country. Here are some of them, as well as other briefs about the 1956 election:

The eight "weathervane counties," that have been right in every Presidential election since 1896, did it again. The never-fail oracles: Coos and Stratford Counties, N.H.; Palo Alto and Jasper Counties, Iowa; Albany and Laramie Counties, Wyo.; Vanderburg County, Ind.; and Crook County, Ore.

Arizona and New Mexico kept intact their records of always voting for the winning Presidential candidate.

Louisiana broke an 80-year tradition against voting for a Republican President. The last time the State went Republican was in 1876 -- for Rutherford B. Hayes.

Ex-Rep. Terry Carpenter, the Republican National Convention delegate who nominated an imaginary Joe Smith for Vice President, won a non-partisan seat in the Nebraska state legislature.

Maine gave President Eisenhower the biggest vote any political candidate ever has received in the state, as well as the largest majority and highest percentage of any Presidential nominee.

The President was the first Republican Presidential candidate to carry Chicago since Herbert Hoover's 1928 victory.

Adlai E. Stevenson failed, as he did in 1952, to carry either his home state of Illinois or Lake County in which he lives.

Sen. Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.) went down to defeat not only in his state and country, but also in the precinct where he voted.

The President was the first candidate ever to carry all 21 of New Jersey's counties.

Connecticut went to President Eisenhower by more than 300,000 votes for a plurality more than double that of any previous Presidential nominee.

Kentucky went Republican for the first time since 1928, and for only the fourth time in its history.

South Dakota Democrats won their first Congressional seat in 17 years with the election to the House of George McGovern.

Kansas elected George Docking its first Democratic governor in 20 years and the fifth in the state's history.

West Virginia Republicans scored their first major sweep in 28 years. The state gave its eight electoral votes to President Eisenhower, elected its first Republican governor since 1928 and sent W. Chapman Revercomb to the Senate.

Texas went Republican for the third time since the Civil War. It went for Hoover in 1928 and President Eisenhower in 1952.

Iowa held to its record of not sending a Democrat to Congress since 1940, but chose a Democratic governor for the first time since 1936 -- Herschel Loveless.

The President's New York State vote set a new record, with a plurality in excess of 1,500,000. The previous record was set in 1920 when Warren G. Harding defeated James M. Cox by 1,139,927.

Judge Dalip Singh Saund became the first native of India voted into Congress when he scored an upset victory over aviatrix Jacqueline Cochran Odlum for a California seat in the House.

1952 ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATES

 STATES CARRIED BY EISENHOWER
 STATES CARRIED BY STEVENSON



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1956 ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATES

 STATES CARRIED BY EISENHOWER
 STATES CARRIED BY STEVENSON



TOTAL ELECTORAL VOTES

TOTAL ELECTORAL VOTES		1952	1956
EISENHOWER		442	457
STEVENSON		89	74

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1956 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS

Based on unofficial returns of Nov. 8.

266 Votes Needed to Win

States	Electoral Votes	EISENHOWER		STEVENSON	
		Electoral Votes	Popular Votes	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
ALABAMA	11		167,986	11	232,259
ARIZONA	4	4	161,673		103,337
ARKANSAS	8		135,149	8	157,470
CALIFORNIA	32	32	1,805,754		1,482,068
COLORADO	6	6	385,513		254,509
CONNECTICUT	8	8	709,395		404,209
DELAWARE	3	3	94,484		82,908
FLORIDA	10	10	583,469		425,564
GEORGIA	12		183,145	12	353,105
IDAHO	4	4	167,252		105,194
ILLINOIS	27	27	2,538,074		1,717,544
INDIANA	13	13	1,162,784		770,513
IOWA	10	10	713,584		489,744
KANSAS	8	8	519,254		266,982
KENTUCKY	10	10	418,168		353,535
LOUISIANA	10	10	295,033		230,401
MAINE	5	5	249,024		101,979
MARYLAND	9	9	552,128		368,717
MASSACHUSETTS	16	16	1,391,873		947,587
MICHIGAN	20	20	1,637,686		1,306,769
MINNESOTA	11	11	640,103		545,333
MISSISSIPPI	8		55,188	8	124,699
MISSOURI	13		839,601	13	860,601
MONTANA	4	4	136,947		102,354
NEBRASKA	6	6	329,504		177,523
NEVADA	3	3	43,060		29,484
NEW HAMPSHIRE	4	4	176,320		90,420
NEW JERSEY	16	16	1,564,364		839,720
NEW MEXICO	4	4	127,346		90,275
NEW YORK	45	45	4,318,104		2,742,228
NORTH CAROLINA	14		548,154	14	568,882
NORTH DAKOTA	4	4	102,680		65,505
OHIO	25	25	2,236,728		1,412,670
OKLAHOMA	8	8	471,688		384,526
OREGON	6	6	295,513		234,795
PENNSYLVANIA	32	32	2,558,747		1,966,875
RHODE ISLAND	4	4	220,962		142,507
SOUTH CAROLINA	8		75,623	8	133,392
SOUTH DAKOTA	4	4	101,894		78,654
TENNESSEE	11	11	460,515		451,883
TEXAS	24	24	925,397		731,553
UTAH	4	4	213,456		116,243
VERMONT	3	3	110,781		44,243
VIRGINIA	12	12	386,320		264,110
WASHINGTON	9	9	530,072		449,815
WEST VIRGINIA	8	8	443,208		376,562
WISCONSIN	12	12	951,045		583,222
WYOMING	3	3	73,347		48,096
1956 Totals	531	457	32,811,095	74	23,828,564
1952 Totals	531	442	33,927,549	89	27,311,316

HOUSE MEMBERSHIP IN THE 85th CONGRESS . . .

Democrats are CAPITALIZED.

* Freshman Representative

† Outcome in doubt or recount ordered. Dagger is by name of candidate in the lead.

‡ Elected Nov. 6, died Nov. 7; special election to be held.

ALABAMA

1. FRANK W. BOYKIN
2. GEORGE M. GRANT
3. GEORGE W. ANDREWS
4. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
5. ALBERT RAINS
6. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN JR.
7. CARL ELLIOTT
8. ROBERT E. JONES
9. GEORGE HUDDLESTON JR.

ARIZONA

1. John J. Rhodes
2. STEWART L. UDALL

ARKANSAS

1. E.C. GATHINGS
2. WILBUR D. MILLS
3. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
4. OREN HARRIS
5. BROOKS HAYS
6. W.F. NORRELL

CALIFORNIA

1. Hubert B. Scudder
2. CLAIR ENGLE
3. JOHN E. MOSS JR.
4. William S. Mailliard
5. JOHN F. SHELLEY
6. John F. Baldwin Jr.
7. John J. Allen Jr.
8. GEORGE P. MILLER
9. J. Arthur Younger
10. Charles S. Gubser
11. JOHN J. McFALL *
12. B.F. SISK
13. Charles M. Teague
14. HARLAN HAGEN
15. Gordon L. McDonough
16. Donald L. Jackson
17. CECIL R. KING
18. Craig Hosmer
19. CHET HOLFIELD
20. H. Allen Smith *
21. Edgar W. Hestand
22. Joe Holt
23. CLYDE DOYLE
24. Glenard P. Lipscomb
25. Patrick J. Hillings
26. JAMES ROOSEVELT
27. HARRY R. SHEPPARD
28. James B. Utt
29. D.S. SAUND*
30. Bob Wilson

COLORADO

1. BYRON G. ROGERS
2. William S. Hill
3. J. Edgar Chenoweth
4. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

CONNECTICUT

1. Edward H. May Jr. *
2. Horace Seely-Brown Jr.
3. Albert W. Cretella
4. Albert P. Morano
5. James T. Patterson
- AL. Antoni N. Sadlak

HOUSE LINEUP		
218 Needed for Majority		
	84th Congress	85th Congress*
Democrats	232	235
Republicans	203	200

* Leaders in 11 close or recount races listed as winners.

DELAWARE

- AL Harry G. Haskell Jr. *

FLORIDA

1. William C. Cramer
2. CHARLES E. BENNETT
3. ROBERT L.F. SIKES
4. DANTE B. FASCELL
5. A.S. HERLON JR.
6. PAUL G. ROGERS
7. JAMES A. HALEY
8. D.R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

GEORGIA

1. PRINCE H. PRESTON
2. J.L. PILCHER
3. E.L. FORRESTER
4. JOHN J. FLYNT JR.
5. JAMES C. DAVIS
6. CARL VINSON
7. HENDERSON LANHAM
8. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
9. PHIL M. LANDRUM
10. PAUL BROWN

IDAHO

1. GRACIE PFOST
2. Hamer H. Budge

ILLINOIS

1. WILLIAM L. DAWSON
2. BARRATT O'HARA
3. Emmet F. Byrne *
4. William E. McVey
5. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
6. THOMAS J. O'BRIEN
7. JAMES B. BOWLER
8. THOMAS S. GORDON
9. SIDNEY R. YATES
10. Harold R. Collier *
11. Timothy P. Sheehan
12. CHARLES A. BOYLE
13. Marguerite Stitt Church
14. Russell W. Keeney *
15. Noah M. Mason
16. Leo E. Allen
17. Leslie C. Arends
18. Robert H. Michel *
19. Robert B. Chiperfield
20. Sid Simpson
21. PETER F. MACK JR.
22. William L. Springer
23. Charles W. Vursell

KENTUCKY

1. NOBLE J. GREGORY
2. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

3. John M. Robison Jr.
4. FRANK CHELF
5. BRENT SPENCE
6. JOHN C. WATTS
7. CARL D. PERKINS †
8. Eugene Siler

LOUISIANA

1. F. EDWARD HEBERT
2. HALE BOOGS
3. EDWIN E. WILLIS
4. OVERTON BROOKS
5. OTTO E. PASSMAN
6. JAMES H. MORRISON
7. T. ASHTON THOMPSON
8. GEORGE S. LONG

MAINE

1. JAMES C. OLIVER *
- Robert Hale †
2. FRANK M. COFFIN *
3. Clifford G. McIntire

MARYLAND

1. Edward T. Miller
2. James P.S. Devereux
3. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
4. GEORGE H. FALLON
5. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
6. DeWitt S. Hyde
7. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

MASSACHUSETTS

1. John W. Heselton
2. EDWARD P. BOLAND
3. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
4. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
5. Edith Nourse Rogers
6. William H. Bates
7. THOMAS J. LANE
8. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
9. Donald W. Nicholson
10. Laurence Curtis
11. THOMAS O'NEILL JR.
12. JOHN W. McCORMACK
13. Richard B. Wigglesworth
14. Joseph W. Martin Jr.

MICHIGAN

1. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
2. George Meader
3. August E. Johansen
4. Clare E. Hoffman
5. Gerald R. Ford Jr.
6. Charles E. Chamberlain *
7. Robert J. McIntosh *
8. Alvin M. Bentley
9. Robert P. Griffin *
10. Elford A. Cederberg
11. Victor A. Knox
12. John B. Bennett
13. CHARLES C. DIGGS JR.
14. LOUIS C. RABAUT
15. JOHN D. DINGELL
16. JOHN LESINSKI JR.
17. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
18. William S. Broomfield *

MINNESOTA

1. August H. Andresen
2. Joseph P. O'Hara
3. ROY W. WIER
4. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
5. Walter H. Judd
6. FRED MARSHALL
7. H. Carl Andersen
8. JOHN A. BLATNIK
9. COYA KNUTSON

MISSISSIPPI

1. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
2. JAMIE L. WHITTEN
3. FRANK E. SMITH
4. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
5. ARTHUR WINSTEAD
6. WILLIAM M. COLMER

... 235 DEMOCRATS, 200 REPUBLICANS ELECTED

Democrats are CAPITALIZED.

* Freshman Representative.

† Outcome in doubt or recount ordered. Dagger is by name of candidate in the lead.

‡ Elected Nov. 6, died Nov. 7; special election to be held.

MISSOURI

1. FRANK M. KARSTEN
2. Thomas B. Curtis
3. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
4. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER
5. RICHARD BOLLING
6. W.R. HULL JR.
7. CHARLES H. BROWN*
8. A.S.J. CARNAHAN
9. CLARENCE CANNON
10. PAUL C. JONES
11. MORGAN M. MOULDER†
- George H. Miller*

MONTANA

1. LEE METCALF
2. LEROY A. ANDERSON*

NEBRASKA

1. Phil Weaver
2. Glenn Cunningham*
3. LAWRENCE BROCK†
- Robert D. Harrison
4. A.L. Miller

NEVADA

1. AL WALTER S. BARING*

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1. Chester E. Merrow
2. Perkins Bass

NEW JERSEY

1. Charles A. Wolverton
2. T. Miller Hand
3. James C. Auchincloss
4. FRANK THOMPSON JR.
5. Peter Frelinghuysen Jr.
6. Florence P. Dwyer*
7. William B. Widnall
8. Gordon Canfield
9. Frank C. Osmers Jr.
10. PETER W. RODINO JR.
11. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
12. Robert W. Kean
13. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
- Norman H. Roth†
14. Vincent J. Delaney*

NEW MEXICO

1. AL ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ‡
- AL JOHN J. DEMPSEY

NEW YORK

1. Stuyvesant Wainwright
2. Steven B. Derounian
3. Frank J. Becker
4. Henry J. Latham
5. Albert H. Bosch
6. LESTER HOLTZMAN
7. JAMES J. DELANEY†
- Joseph Stockinger*
8. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
9. EUGENE J. KEOGH
10. EDNA F. KELLY
11. EMANUEL CELLER
12. Francis E. Dorn
13. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
14. JOHN J. ROONEY
15. John H. Ray
16. ADAM C. POWELL JR.

17. ANTHONY B. AKERS*
- Frederic R. Couder Jr.†
18. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO*
19. LEONARD FARBSTEIN*
20. LUDWIG TELLER*
21. HERBERT ZELENKO
22. JAMES C. HEALEY
23. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
24. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY
25. Paul A. Fino
26. Edwin B. Dooley*
27. Ralph W. Gwinn
28. Katharine St. George
29. J. Ernest Wharton
30. LEO W. O'BRIEN
31. Dean P. Taylor
32. Bernard W. Kearney
33. Clarence E. Kilburn
34. William R. Williams
35. R. Walter Riehman
36. John Taber
37. W. Sterling Cole
38. Kenneth B. Keating
39. Harold C. Ostertag
30. William E. Miller
41. Edmund P. Radwan
42. John R. Pillion
43. Daniel A. Reed

NORTH CAROLINA

1. HERBERT C. BONNER
2. L.H. FOUNTAIN
3. GRAHAM A. BARDEN
4. HAROLD D. COOLEY
5. RALPH J. SCOTT*
6. CARL T. DURHAM
7. ALTON LENNON*
8. A. PAUL KITCHIN*
9. HUGH Q. ALEXANDER
10. Charles R. Jonas
11. BASIL L. WHITENER*
12. GEORGE A. SHUFORD

NORTH DAKOTA

- AL Usher L. Burdick
- AL Otto Krueger

OHIO

1. Gordon H. Scherer
2. William E. Hess
3. Paul F. Schenck
4. William M. McCulloch
5. Cliff Cleverger
6. JAMES G. POLK
7. Clarence J. Brown
8. Jackson E. Betts
9. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
10. Thomas A. Jenkins
11. David S. Dennison Jr. *
12. John M. Vorys
13. A.D. Baumhart Jr.
14. William H. Ayres
15. John E. Henderson
16. Frank T. Bow
17. J. Harry McGregor
18. WAYNE L. HAYS
19. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
20. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
21. CHARLES A. VANIK
22. Frances P. Bolton
23. William E. Minshall

OKLAHOMA

1. Page Belcher

2. ED EDMONDSON
3. CARL ALBERT
4. TOM STEED
5. JOHN JARMAN
6. TOBY MORRIS*

OREGON

1. Walter Norblad
2. AL ULLMAN*
3. EDITH GREEN
4. CHARLES O. PORTER*

PENNSYLVANIA

1. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
2. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN*
3. JAMES A. BYRNE
4. EARL CHUDOFF
5. WILLIAM J. GREEN JR.
6. Hugh Scott
7. Benjamin F. James
8. Willard S. Curtin *
9. Paul B. Dague
10. Joseph L. Carrigg
11. DANIEL J. FLOOD
12. Ivor D. Fenton
13. Samuel K. McConnell Jr.
14. GEORGE M. RHODES
15. FRANCIS E. WALTER
16. Walter M. Mumma
17. Alvin R. Bush
18. Richard M. Simpson
19. S. Walter Stauffer*
20. James E. Van Zandt
21. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
22. John P. Saylor
23. Leon H. Gavin
24. Carroll D. Kearns
25. FRANK M. CLARK
26. THOMAS E. MORGAN
27. James G. Fulton
28. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER
29. Robert J. Corbett
30. ELMER J. HOLLAND

RHODE ISLAND

1. AIME J. FORAND
2. JOHN E. FOGARTY

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. L. MENDEL RIVERS
2. JOHN J. RILEY
3. W.J. BRYAN DORN
4. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
5. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL*
6. JOHN L. McMILLAN

SOUTH DAKOTA

1. GEORGE S. MCGOVERN*
2. E.Y. Berry

TENNESSEE

1. B. Carroll Reece
2. Howard H. Baker
3. JAMES B. FRAZIER JR.
4. JOE L. EVINS
5. J. CARLTON LOSER*
6. ROSS BASS
7. TOM MURRAY
8. JERE COOPER
9. CLIFFORD DAVIS

TEXAS

1. WRIGHT PATMAN

2. JACK B. BROOKS
3. LINDLEY G. BECKWORTH*

4. SAM RAYBURN

5. Bruce Alger

6. OLIN E. TEAGUE

7. JOHN DOWDY

8. ALBERT THOMAS

9. CLARK W. THOMPSON

10. HOMER THORNBERRY

11. W.R. POAGE

12. JIM WRIGHT

13. FRANK IKARD

14. JOHN YOUNG*

15. JOE M. KILGORE

16. J.T. RUTHERFORD

17. OMAR BURLESON

18. WALTER ROGERS

19. GEORGE MAHON

20. PAUL J. KILDAY

21. O.C. FISHER

- AL MARTIN DIES

UTAH

1. Henry Aldous Dixon

2. William A. Dawson

VERMONT

- AL Winston L. Prouty

VIRGINIA

1. EDWARD J. ROBESON JR.

2. PORTER HARDY JR.

3. J. VAUGHAN GARY

4. WATKINS M. ABBITT

5. WILLIAM M. TUCK

6. Richard H. Poff

7. BURR P. HARRISON

7. HOWARD W. SMITH

9. W. PAT JENNINGS

10. Joel T. Broyhill

WASHINGTON

1. Thomas M. Pelly

2. Jack Westland

3. Russell V. Mack

4. FRANK LEROUX*†

- Hal Holmes

5. Walt Horan

6. Thor C. Tollefson

- AL DON MAGNUSON

WEST VIRGINIA

1. Arch A. Moore Jr.*

2. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

3. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

4. Will E. Neal*

5. ELIZABETH KEE

6. ROBERT C. BYRD

WISCONSIN

1. Lawrence H. Smith

2. Donald E. Tewes*

3. Gardner R. Withrow

4. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

5. HENRY S. REUSS

6. William K. Van Pelt

7. Melvin R. Laird

8. John W. Byrnes

9. LESTER R. JOHNSON

10. Alvin E. O'Konski

WYOMING

- AL E. Keith Thomson

PARTY MEMBERSHIP OF 85th CONGRESS

	84th Congress	85th Congress
Democrats	232*	235†
Republicans	203*	200
218 Needed for Control		

Party Lineup by States

	84th Congress		85th Congress		Gain/Loss			84th Congress		85th Congress		Gain/Loss	
	R	D	R	D	R	D		R	D	R	D	R	D
Ala.	0	9	0	9	0	0	Nev.	1	0	0	1	-1	1
Ariz.	1	1	1	1	0	0	N. H.	2	0	2	0	0	0
Ark.	0	6	0	6	0	0	N. J.	8	6	11	3	3	-3
Calif.	19	11	17	13	-2	2	N. M.	0	2	0	2	0	0
Colo.	2	2	2	2	0	0	N. Y.	26	17	26	17	0	0
Conn.	5	1	6	0	1	-1	N. C.	1	11	1	11	0	0
Del.	0	1	1	0	1	-1	N. D.	2	0	2	0	0	0
Fla.	1	7	1	7†	0	0	Ohio	17	6	17	6	0	0
Ga.	0	10	0	10	0	0	Oklahoma	1	5	1	5	0	0
Idaho	1	1	1	1	0	0	Ore.	3	1	1	3	-2	2
Ill.	13	12	14	11	1	-1	Pa.	16	14	17	13	1	-1
Ind.	9	2	9	2	0	0	R. I.	0	2	0	2	0	0
Iowa	8	0	7	1	-1	1	S. C.	0	6	0	6	0	0
Kan.	6	0	5	1	-1	1	S. D.	2	0	1	1	-1	1
Ky.	2	6	2	6	0	0	Tenn.	2	7	2	7	0	0
La.	0	8	0	8	0	0	Texas	1	21	1	21	0	0
Maine	3	0	2	1	-1	1	Utah	2	0	2	0	0	0
Md.	3	4	3	4	0	0	Vt.	1	0	1	0	0	0
Mass.	7	7	7	7	0	0	Va.	2	8	2	8	0	0
Mich.	11	7	12	6	1	-1	Wash.	6	1	5	2†	-1	1
Minn.	4	5	4	5	0	0	W. Va.	0	6	2	4	2	-2
Miss.	0	6	0	6	0	0	Wis.	7	3	7	3	0	0
Mo.	2	9	1	10†	-1	1	Wyo.	1	0	1	0	0	0
Mont.	1	1	0	2	-1	1							
Neb.	4	0	3	1†	-1	1							
							TOTAL	203	232	200	235	10	13

*Vacancies counted with party last holding seat: 2 Dem. -- 2nd Pa., 5th Tenn.
2 GOP -- 14th Ill., 20th Calif.

†Based on probable Democratic winners in: 5th Fla. 11th Mo.
3rd Neb. 4th Wash.

23 HOUSE SEATS CHANGE PARTIES IN 1956 ELECTION

Some 23 seats in the House of Representatives changed hands in the Congressional elections of Nov. 6. Democrats picked up 11 seats and led in contests for two other seats held by Republicans. In turn, Republican candidates captured 10 seats from Democrats. Names of the winners and losers appear in the adjoining column.

Eight of the GOP gains were recorded in the East -- three seats in New Jersey, two in West Virginia and one each in Connecticut, Delaware and Pennsylvania. Democrats picked up only one seat in the East, in Maine. In the Midwest, Republicans recaptured seats in Illinois and Michigan, while Democrats scored gains of one seat each in Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska and South Dakota. Biggest Democratic gains occurred in the West with seven seats: two each in California and Oregon, one each in Montana, Nevada and Washington. Although Republicans retained their numerical advantage in the three regions outside the South (where no seats changed hands), Democrats approached equality in the West.

	84th Congress		85th Congress	
	Dem	GOP	Dem	GOP
East	58	71	51	78
South	110	10	110	10
Midwest	44	85	47	82
West	20	37	27	30
TOTALS	232	203	235	200

Analysis of the switched districts in terms of census data compiled by Congressional Quarterly as well as previous election returns shows that:

- Of the 13 districts picked up by Democrats, all but the California 11th are rural or small-town in their make-up. By contrast, all but one of the 10 GOP pickups -- the West Virginia Fourth -- came in mid-urban or metropolitan districts.

- Farm workers number less than 10 percent of all employed persons in all of the GOP pickup districts with the exception of the West Virginia Fourth. Conversely, farm workers number more than 10 percent in all of the Democratic pickup districts with the exception of the Maine Second. In 10 of the 13 districts, farm workers run over 20 percent, and in five over 30 percent.

- Blue-collar workers average 48.9 percent of all employed persons in the nation. They exceed this percentage in all 10 GOP pickup districts, but in only three of the 13 Democratic pickups -- Maine Second, Nevada At Large and Oregon Fourth.

- President Eisenhower carried all of the 13 Democratic pickup districts in 1952, 12 by more than 60 percent of the vote. Republican Congressional candidates likewise carried all of these districts in 1952, in 11 by more than 60 percent of the vote. In 1954, GOP candidates won by more than 60 percent in four of these districts (Iowa Sixth, Kansas Fifth, Nebraska Third and Washington Fourth), and by less than 55 percent in six (California 11th, Maine Second, Missouri Seventh, Montana Second, Nevada At Large, and Oregon Second). Five of the 10 GOP pickups were lost to Democrats in 1954 (Delaware At Large, Illinois Third, Michigan Sixth, Pennsylvania 19th and West Virginia Fourth).

Breakdown of Party Switches

Republicans picked up 10 Democratic-held seats, Democrats picked up or led in 13 GOP-held seats as a result of the Nov. 6 election. Each party picked up four Senate seats. The Democrats won five GOP governorships, the GOP won three Democratic governorships.

The following breakdown of switches for the House, Senate and governorships gives the name of the winning and losing candidate. Under the name of the losing candidate is the name of the person who held the seat prior to the election, if he was not running for re-election.

HOUSE		
State	Dist.	Winner Loser
Calif.	11th	John J. McFall (D) Leroy Johnson (R)
Calif.	29th	D.S. Saund (D) Jacqueline C. Odum (R)
Conn.	1st	Edward H. May Jr. (R) (John Philippa (R) 1
Del.	AL	Harry G. Haskell Jr. (R) Patrick J. Ward (D)
Ill.	3rd	Emmet F. Byrne (R) (Thomas J. Dodd (D) 3
Iowa	6th	Merwin Coad (D) Harris B. McDowell Jr. (D)
Kan.	5th	J. Floyd Breeding (D) James C. Murray (D)
Maine	2nd	Frank M. Coffin (D) James I. Dolliver (R)
Mich.	6th	Charles E. Chamberlin (R) John W. Crutcher (R)
Mo.	7th	Charles H. Brown (D) (Clifford R. Hope (R) 1
Mont.	2nd	Leroy A. Anderson (D) James L. Reid (R)
Neb.	3rd	Lawrence Brock (D)* (Charles P. Nelson (R) 1
Nev.	AL	Walter S. Baring (D) Don Hayworth (D)
N.J.	6th	Florence P. Dwyer (R) Dewey Short (R)
N.J.	13th	Norman H. Roth (R)* Orvin B. Fjare (R)
N.J.	14th	Vincent J. Delay (R) Robert D. Harrison (R)
Ore.	2nd	Al Ullman (D)* Richard W. Horton (R)
Ore.	4th	Charles O. Porter (D)* (Cliff Young (R) 3
Pa.	19th	S. Walter Stauffer (R) Harrison A. Williams (D)
S.D.	1st	George S. McGovern (D) Alfred A. Sieminski (D)
Wash.	4th	Frank LeRoux (D)* T. James Tumulty (D)
W.Va.	1st	Arch A. Moore Jr. (R) Sam Coon (R)
W.Va.	4th	Will E. Neal (R) Harris Ellsworth (R)
SENATE		
State	Winner Loser	
Colo.	John A. Carroll (D) Dan Thornton (R)	
Idaho	Frank Church (D) (Eugene D. Millikin (R) 1	
Ky.	Thurston B. Morton (R)* Herman Weiker (R)	
Ky.	John Sherman Cooper (R) Earle C. Clements (D)	
N.Y.	Jacob K. Javits (R) Lawrence W. Wetherby (D)	
Ohio	Frank J. Lausche (D) (Robert Humphreys (D) 1	
Pa.	Joseph S. Clark Jr. (D) Robert F. Wagner (D)	
W.Va.	W. Chapman Revercomb (R) (Herb H. Lehman (D) 1	
		George H. Bender (R)
		James H. Duff (R)
		William C. Marland (D)
		(William R. Laird III (D) 1
GOVERNORSHIPS		
State	Winner Loser	
Iowa	Herschel C. Loveless (D) Leo A. Hoegh (R)	
Kan.	George Docking (D) Warren W. Shaw (R)	
Mass.	Foster Furcolo (D) (Fred Hall (R) 5	
N.M.	Edwin L. Mechem (R) Sumner G. Whittier (R)	
Ohio	C. William O'Neill (R) (Christian A. Herter (R) 1	
Ore.	Robert D. Holmes (D) John F. Simms (D)	
Wash.	Albert D. Rosellini (D) Michael V. DiSalle (D)	
W. Va.	Cecil H. Underwood (R) (Frank J. Lausche (D) 3	
		Elmo Smith (R)
		Emmett T. Anderson (R)
		(Arthur B. Langlie (R) 3
		Robert H. Mollohan (D)
		(William C. Marland (D) 3
* Probable winner as of Nov. 8		
1 -- Retired	3 -- Ran for Senate	
2 -- Deceased	4 -- Ran for governor	
	5 -- Defeated in primary	

SENATE MEMBERSHIP IN THE 85th CONGRESS

Democrats are CAPITALIZED
Senators elected in 1956 are underlined

* Freshman Senators
† Elected Texas governor, must resign Senate by Jan. 15, 1957.

ALABAMA
LISTER HILL
JOHN J. SPARKMAN

ARIZONA
CARL HAYDEN
Barry Goldwater

ARKANSAS
J.W. FULBRIGHT
JOHN L. McCLELLAN

CALIFORNIA
Thomas H. Kuchel
William F. Knowland

COLORADO
JOHN A. CARROLL*
Gordon Allott

CONNECTICUT
Prescott Bush
William A. Purtell

DELAWARE
J. ALLEN FREAR JR.
John J. Williams

FLORIDA
GEORGE A. SMATHERS
SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

GEORGIA
HERMAN TALMADGE*
RICHARD B. RUSSELL

IDAHO
FRANK CHURCH*
Henry C. Dworshak

ILLINOIS
Everett McKinley Dirksen
PAUL H. DOUGLAS

INDIANA
Homer E. Capehart
William E. Jenner

IOWA
Bourke B. Hickenlooper
Thomas E. Martin

KANSAS
Frank Carlson
Andrew F. Schoeppe

KENTUCKY
John Sherman Cooper*
Thrston B. Morton*

LOUISIANA
RUSSELL B. LONG
ALLEN J. ELLENDER SR.

MAINE
Margaret Chase Smith
Frederick G. Payne

MARYLAND
John Marshall Butler
J. Glenn Beall

MASSACHUSETTS
JOHN F. KENNEDY
Leverett Saltonstall

MICHIGAN
Charles E. Potter
PAT McNAMARA

MINNESOTA
Edward J. Thye
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

MISSISSIPPI
JOHN STENNIS
JAMES O. EASTLAND

MISSOURI
THOMAS C. HENNINGS JR.
STUART SYMINGTON

MONTANA
JAMES E. MURRAY
MIKE MANSFIELD

NEBRASKA
Roman L. Hruska
Carl T. Curtis

NEVADA
ALAN BIBLE
George W. Malone

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Norris Cotton
Styles Bridges

NEW JERSEY
H. Alexander Smith
Clifford P. Case

NEW MEXICO
DENNIS CHAVEZ
CLINTON P. ANDERSON

NEW YORK
Jacob K. Javits*
Irving M. Ives

NORTH CAROLINA
SAM J. ERVIN JR.
W. KERR SCOTT

NORTH DAKOTA
Milton R. Young
William Langer

OHIO
FRANK J. LAUSCHE*
John W. Bricker

OKLAHOMA
A.S. MIKE MONRONEY
ROBERT S. KERR

OREGON
WAYNE MORSE
RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

PENNSYLVANIA
JOSEPH S. CLARK JR.*
Edward Martin

RHODE ISLAND
THEODORE F. GREEN
JOHN O. PASTORE

SOUTH CAROLINA
OLIN D. JOHNSTON
STROM THURMOND

SOUTH DAKOTA
Francis Case
Karl E. Mundt

TENNESSEE
ESTES KEFAUVER
ALBERT GORE

TEXAS
PRICE DANIEL†
LYNDON B. JOHNSON

UTAH
Wallace F. Bennett
Arthur V. Watkins

VERMONT
George D. Aiken
Ralph E. Flanders

VIRGINIA
HARRY FLOOD BYRD
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

WASHINGTON
WARREN G. MAGNUSON
HENRY M. JACKSON

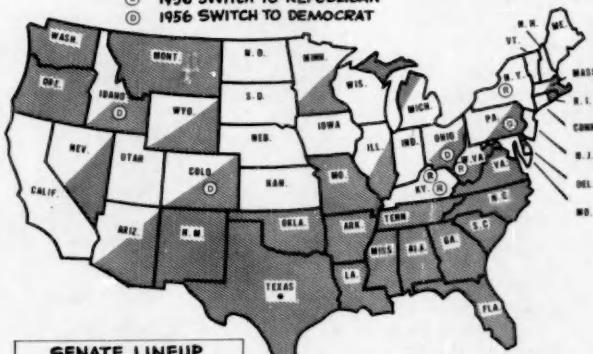
WEST VIRGINIA
W. Chapman Revercomb*
MATTHEW M. NEELY

WISCONSIN
Alexander Wiley
Joseph R. McCarthy

WYOMING
Frank A. Barrett
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

SENATE MEMBERSHIP IN 85th CONGRESS

DEMOCRATIC SENATOR
REPUBLICAN SENATOR
SPLIT DELEGATION
① 1956 SWITCH TO REPUBLICAN
② 1956 SWITCH TO DEMOCRAT



SENATE LINEUP			
GOP	1952	1954	1956
DEM	47	49	49
IND.	1		

* PRICE DANIEL (D) WAS ELECTED GOVERNOR, WILL RESIGN SENATE BY JAN. 15.

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THREE SENATE CANDIDATES WIN ELECTIONS FOR SHORT TERMS

Thirty-five candidates won Senate seats Nov. 6 -- three for short terms, 32 for full terms. Winners of the short term races: W. Chapman Revercomb (R W. Va.), two years; Strom Thurmond (D N.C.) and John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.), four-year terms.

The 32 who won six year terms: John A. Carroll (D Colo.), Herman Talmadge (D Ga.), Thruston B. Morton (R Ky.), Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.), Frank J. Lausche (D Ohio), Joseph S. Clark Jr. (D Pa.); and the following incumbents:

Lister Hill (D Ala.), Carl Hayden (D Ariz.), J.W. Fulbright (D Ark.), Thomas H. Kuchel (R Calif.), Prescott Bush (R Conn.), George A. Smathers (D Fla.), Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.), Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.), Frank Carlson (R Kan.), Russell B. Long (D La.), John Marshall Butler (R Md.), Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D Mo.), Alan Bible (D Nev.), Norris Cotton (R N.H.), Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D N.C.), Milton R. Young (R N.D.), A.S. Mike Monroney (D Okla.), Wayne Morse (D Ore.), Olin D. Johnston (D S.C.), Francis Case (R S.D.), Wallace F. Bennett (R Utah), George D. Aiken (R Vt.), Warren G. Magnuson (D Wash.), Alexander Wiley (R Wis.).

Terms Expire in 1958

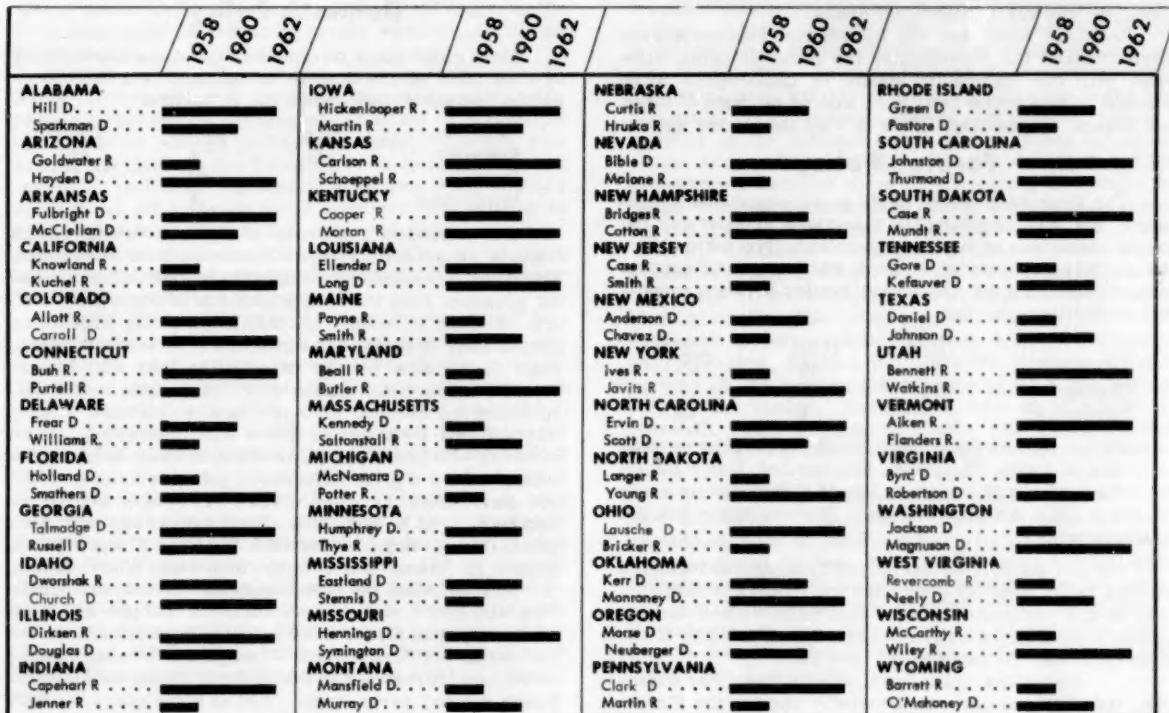
Including Revercomb, 21 Republicans and 11 Democrats complete their current terms Jan. 3, 1959. They are: Frank A. Barrett (R Wyo.), J. Glenn Beall (R Md.), John W. Bricker (R Ohio), Harry Flood Byrd (D Va.), Dennis Chavez (D N.M.), Ralph E. Flanders (R Vt.), Barry Goldwater (R Ariz.), Albert Gore (D Tenn.), Spessard L. Holland (D Fla.), Roman L. Hruska (R Neb.), Irving M. Ives (R N.Y.), Henry M. Jackson (D Wash.), William E. Jenner (R Ind.), John F. Kennedy (D Mass.),

William F. Knowland (R Calif.), William Langer (R N.D.), Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.), George W. Malone (R Nev.), Mike Mansfield (D Mont.), Edward Martin (R Pa.), John O. Pastore (D R.I.), Frederick G. Payne (R Maine), Charles E. Potter (R Mich.), William A. Purtell (R Conn.), H. Alexander Smith (R N.J.), John Stennis (D Miss.), Stuart Symington (D Mo.), Edward J. Thye (D Minn.), Arthur V. Watkins (R Utah), John J. Williams (R Del.) and Price Daniel (D Texas) who must resign before Jan. 15, 1957, to become governor of Texas.

Face 1960 Campaign

Of the 32 Senators whose terms expire Jan. 3, 1961, 21 (including Thurmond) are Democrats; 11, including Cooper, are Republicans. They are: Gordon Allott (R Colo.), Clinton P. Anderson (D N.M.), Styles Bridges (R N.H.), Clifford P. Case (R N.J.), Cooper, Paul H. Douglas (D Ill.), Henry C. Dworshak (R Idaho), James O. Eastland (D Miss.), Allen J. Ellender Sr. (D La.), J. Allen Frear Jr. (D Del.), Theodore Francis Green (D R.I.), Hubert H. Humphrey (D Minn.), Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas), Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.), Robert S. Kerr (D Okla.), John L. McClellan (D Ark.), Pat McNamara (D Mich.), Thomas E. Martin (R Iowa), Karl E. Mundt (R S.D.), James E. Murray (D Mont.), Matthew M. Neely (D W.Va.), Richard L. Neuberger (D Ore.), Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D Wyo.), A. Willis Robertson (D Va.), Richard B. Russell (D Ga.), Leverett Saltonstall (R Mass.), Andrew F. Schoepel (R Kan.), W. Kerr Scott (D N.C.), Margaret Chase Smith (R Maine), John J. Sparkman (D Ala.) and Thurmond.

The following chart portrays graphically the years the 96 Senators will face re-election:



Special Report

PROSPECTS FOR PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM IN 1957

What are the prospects for President Eisenhower's programs in the Senate during the next two years?

Democrats control the Senate, 49-47, the same margin they had during the 84th Congress. Nine new Senators -- five Democrats and four Republicans -- will be seated when the Senate meets in January.

This survey indicates President Eisenhower will have slightly less foreign policy support than he had in the last Senate and that prospects for his domestic program depend on a small group of Republican and Democratic mavericks -- as they have for the past two years.

Congressional Quarterly's previous studies showed the Democratic-controlled 84th Congress approved 46 percent of the President's requests, while its predecessor, the Republican-controlled 83rd Congress, approved 66 percent of his requests. That, of course, measured the work of both the Senate and the House. (Weekly Report, p. 927)

To determine the temper of the incoming Senate, CQ selected 12 key issues, domestic and foreign, on which Mr. Eisenhower had taken a clear stand. These had been subjects of Senate roll-call votes during his first Administration that seemed likely to arise again during his second term.

The issues were: Limiting the President's treaty-making power; foreign aid and technical assistance; trade with Communist bloc countries and among the free nations; immigration and refugee policy; farm price supports; power and reclamation; public housing; social security extension; labor law revision; tax policy; defense spending; and aid to depressed areas.

Roll-call votes and CQ Eisenhower Support scores were checked for incumbents; the previous public records and the campaign stands of challengers were scanned to determine their positions on as many of these key issues as possible. Here is what the survey shows:

Foreign Policy

The President seems likely to win somewhat diminished, but still comfortable bipartisan support for the major measures of his foreign policy. The table shows the number of Senators of each party that will support him, oppose him or are on the border between support and opposition:

	GOP	Dem.	Total
Support	29	36	65
Oppose	11	6	17
Borderline	7	6	13

(Note: On this table, as on the one below, the number of Senators totals 95, not 96, because Sen. Price Daniel (D Texas), who will resign by Jan. 15 to become governor of Texas, has not been included. His successor has not been elected.)

The 2-1 support on foreign policy measures indicated by this table does not guarantee the President safe victory on any particular issue. Three factors make the new Senate's foreign policy temperament less friendly to the President than the table would indicate:

1 -- Coalitions shift from vote to vote. For example, the 17 Senators who generally oppose the Presi-

dent's foreign policy have been joined by southerners on immigration issues, by industrial and natural resource state Senators on free trade votes, by strict constitutionalists on questions of the treaty-making power.

2 -- Foreign policy may become more of a partisan issue than it was during Mr. Eisenhower's first term. There has been growing Democratic criticism of parts of the Administration foreign policy. Thus, while only six Democrats can be rated in general disagreement with that policy, 15 Democrats voted last July 24 against all foreign aid funds, a key part of the Administration program. High-ranking Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee took up Adlai E. Stevenson's campaign criticisms of Mr. Eisenhower's policies on hydrogen bomb tests and the Middle East.

3 -- Specific changes in the Senate have weakened Mr. Eisenhower's foreign policy support. Most notable of these, of course, was the substitution of Herman E. Talmadge (D Ga.), an opponent of foreign aid, for Sen. Walter F. George (D Ga.), Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and a strong spokesman for bipartisanship. The President lost one frequent dissenter on foreign policy with the defeat of Sen. Herman Welker (R Idaho), but may have gained another dissenter with the election of W. Chapman Revercomb (R W. Va.). Frank J. Lausche (D Ohio) and Joseph S. Clark Jr. (D Pa.) may both agree with the President more often than not, but they are not as enthusiastic supporters of his foreign policies as their predecessors.

Domestic Policy

More close votes on domestic questions are forecast by this table of the number of Senators who can be expected to support and oppose the President:

	GOP	Dem.	Total
Support	43	4	47
Oppose	1	40	41
Borderline	3	4	7

The President's chances of success depend on his framing programs that appeal to at least some Democrats. The Republicans are more united in support of his domestic program than the Democrats are in opposition to it. Sen. William F. Langer (R N.D.) is the only Republican consistently opposing the President's domestic policies. Four Democrats can be expected to back Mr. Eisenhower's home-front stands more often than not: Sens. Spessard L. Holland (Fla.), Frank J. Lausche (Ohio), Harry Flood Byrd and A. Willis Robertson (Va.). Seven Senators who break party lines frequently on domestic issues can have a great influence on policy decisions. They are Democrats J. Allen Frear Jr. (Del.), George F. Smathers (Fla.), James O. Eastland (Miss.) and Alan Bible (Nev.); Republicans John Sherman Cooper (Ky.), Milton R. Young (N.D.) and Alexander Wiley (Wis.).

In 1956, when the same situation existed, the President won some victories -- on Helis Canyon and farm price supports, for instance -- with Democratic help. He lost some key Senate votes -- on public housing amendments, on increased Air Force funds -- because Republicans jumped party lines. And in some cases, as with

the social security bill, he was forced to accept the Democratic version of the measure or have no bill at all.

The changes in the Senate this year were about a standoff as far as domestic policy support goes. Elections in Kentucky, New York and West Virginia strengthened the President's hand, while decisions in Colorado, Idaho, Ohio and Pennsylvania weakened it on domestic policy.

The stands of the new Senators and their predecessors are compared in more detail in the following section.

COLORADO -- Ex-Rep. John A. Carroll (D 1947-51) defeated ex-Gov. Dan Thornton (R) for the seat vacated by Sen. Eugene D. Millikin (R). Millikin consistently supported Mr. Eisenhower on both foreign and domestic issues. Carroll could be expected to match Millikin's record on foreign policy. His four-year record in the House includes votes for foreign aid, for technical assistance, reciprocal trade extension and displaced persons legislation. However, indications were he would oppose the President more than he agreed with him on labor, welfare, fiscal and power issues. Once an aide to ex-President Truman, he had a 100 percent Party Unity score his last term in the House.

GEORGIA -- Herman E. Talmadge (D) replaced Sen. Walter F. George (D), who retired from the Senate and became President Eisenhower's special representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The change meant a loss of foreign policy support for the President. George, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the 84th Congress, was the leading Democratic participant in bipartisan foreign policy matters. He supported the President on 77 percent of the foreign policy votes in the 84th Congress, opposed him on only 6 percent. Talmadge campaigned in Georgia as an opponent of "foreign handouts," though he contended he was "international-minded." On domestic policy, Talmadge, a strong states rights advocate, was expected to oppose the President more often than he agreed with him, as did his predecessor.

IDAHO -- The defeat of Sen. Herman Welker (R) by Frank Church (D) cost Mr. Eisenhower support on domestic measures but eliminated one of his most frequent opponents on foreign policy measures. Church, who headed the Crusade for Freedom drive in Idaho, favored overseas technical assistance programs while Welker voted to cut off funds for Asian economic development in 1955. However, Church has endorsed rigid price supports, federal dams at such sites as Hells Canyon and a boost in personal income tax exemptions, all of which the President and Welker had opposed.

KENTUCKY -- Victories by Republicans John Sherman Cooper and Thruston B. Morton strengthened the President's hand on both foreign and domestic policies. Morton, a State Department official, who campaigned as an all-out supporter of the President, was expected to better Democratic Sen. Earle C. Clements' overall 44-39 percent Eisenhower Support-Opposition score for the 84th Congress. Cooper, elected to the unexpired four years of the term of the late Sen. Alben W. Barkley (D), also was expected to be a strong supporter of the President's foreign policy. He was Ambassador to India during part of the first Eisenhower Administration. But he was unlikely to exceed Barkley's 93 percent foreign policy support in 1955, his last full year in office. Cooper was expected to agree with the President on domestic policy more than did Barkley, but he has differed with him on farm price supports, defense spending and TVA funds.

NEW YORK -- Ex-Rep. Jacob K. Javits (R 1947-54) defeated New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner Jr. (D) for the seat vacated by Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D). The President received strong foreign policy support from Lehman (88 percent support, 12 percent opposition on foreign policy votes in the 84th Congress). He was expected to receive the same from Javits, formerly a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Javits, like the President, favored liberalized trade and immigration laws, continued foreign aid. Like Lehman, however, he has disagreed with the President's Middle East policies, particularly as they affect Israel. On domestic policies, Javits was in much closer agreement with Mr. Eisenhower than was Lehman, who cast two votes against the President's domestic program for every vote in favor of it in the 84th Congress. On matters such as farm price supports, tax policies and defense spending, Javits voted in the House with the President and against the stand taken by Lehman. His overall Eisenhower Support-Opposition score in the 83rd Congress was 67-28.

OHIO -- The defeat of Sen. George F. Bender (R) by enigmatic Gov. Frank J. Lausche (D) probably cost Mr. Eisenhower support on both domestic and foreign issues. Lausche, so far from a partisan Democrat that he hinted he might under certain circumstances vote to let the Republicans organize the Senate, agreed with the President on farm, labor and fiscal policy, spoke approvingly of foreign aid and technical assistance programs. But Lausche, whose entire career has been in state and municipal government, has opposed Eisenhower-approved federal programs of aid to education and highways. His overall Eisenhower Support-Opposition score was not likely to equal the 74-9 mark Bender turned in during the 84th Congress.

PENNSYLVANIA -- Sen. James H. Duff's (R) loss to Joseph S. Clark Jr. (D) deprived the President of one of his most consistent backers on both foreign and domestic issues. Clark, who criticized Administration foreign policy severely during his campaign, probably would not give the President anything like the 92-0 percent Support and Opposition Duff did on foreign policy votes in the 84th Congress. On domestic issues, campaigner Clark, a member of the national board of Americans for Democratic Action, disagreed down the line with Duff and Mr. Eisenhower, accused them of advocating a "single interest" tax and labor policy, skimping on defense spending and lagging on welfare programs.

WEST VIRGINIA -- Ex-Sen. W. Chapman Revercomb (R 1943-49) defeated Gov. William C. Marland (D) for the two years of the unexpired term of the late Sen. Harley M. Kilgore (D). The change probably meant a loss for the President on foreign policy support, a gain for domestic policy backing. Kilgore supported Mr. Eisenhower on 80 percent of the foreign policy votes in 1955, his last full year in the Senate. Revercomb, who voted against the Marshall Plan, Reciprocal Trade Act extension, and Greek-Turkish aid during his former Senate term, pledged in his campaign to "work with other nations for the settlement of world problems and aid the hungry and destitute anywhere." But he supported the constitutional amendment to limit the President's treaty-making power, first proposed by Sen. John W. Bricker (R Ohio), while Kilgore in 1954 cast the deciding vote against that measure, which the President opposed. On domestic policy, Revercomb, a Taft Republican by his previous voting record, was expected to better Kilgore's 41 percent support of Mr. Eisenhower in 1955.

SKETCHES OF NINE FRESHMAN SENATORS IN NEW CONGRESS

NEW SENATORS WIN ELECTION

Eight of the nine new Senators who will report to Capitol Hill in 1957 have one thing in common -- they are all lawyers.

Outside of that, the nine present a diversity in ages, stands, political affiliations and campaign techniques. Five of them are Democrats, four are Republicans. But even that is subject to challenge since one of the Democrats, Gov. Frank J. Lausche of Ohio, is independent almost to the point of having a neuter party label.

All but one of the Democrats, Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia, had to withstand the Eisenhower landslide to get elected. Georgia was one of the seven states Adlai E. Stevenson carried.

Highlights on the new Senators (Weekly Report, p. 1275 for fuller details):

• JOHN ALBERT CARROLL (D COLO.) -- Beat former Gov. Dan Thornton (R) 322,786 to 315,061 votes with 1,785 of 1,790 precincts reported.

An ex-iceman, the 55-year-old Carroll attracted the public eye as a Denver District Attorney (1937-41). He was elected to Congress from the First District in 1946 with labor endorsement by a margin of 4,789 votes out of the 116,928 cast. He had lost two other elections in races against Sens. Eugene D. Millikin in 1950 and Gordon Allott in 1954. In the House, Carroll compiled a liberal record and was tabbed a "New Deal" Representative. He is a strong advocate of guaranteed civil rights and an opponent of the Taft-Hartley Act, calling it "a declaration of war." In 1947, Carroll came out against sending money to foreign countries, said the U.S. should send food instead. He is a supporter of the United Nations.

His voting scores in Congress (see accompanying box for explanation):

	3	4	5
81st Congress	100%	89%	86%
80th Congress	91	64	90

• FRANK F. CHURCH (D IDAHO) -- Beat Sen. Herman Welker 149,302 to 101,598 votes with 883 of the 893 precincts reported.

Church carried on a fist-slamming campaign against Welker, calling his record in the Senate deplorable. Church won the American Legion's oratorical contest in 1941, served as state chairman of the Idaho Young Democrats (1952-54) and was keynoter at the state Democratic convention in 1952. He has pledged to fight for federal aid to schools and has criticized Sen. James O. Eastland (D Miss.) for his anti-integration stand.

Church squeaked past former Sen. Glen Taylor (1945-51) in the Aug. 14 Democratic primary by a vote of 27,942-27,742, after which Taylor refused to back his candidacy. Church was endorsed by the AFL-CIO. He supported construction of a federal high dam at Hells Canyon near the Idaho-Oregon border while Welker voted against it. "Government dams," Church said, "have largely built Idaho." He criticized the government's lumber policy, claiming it has worsened the lot of small lumbermen by showing preference to big firms in selling timber. On farm price supports, Church said, "When I say that I am for 100 percent of parity, I merely mean that I am for 100 percent of a fair price for our farmers."

• JOSEPH SILL CLARK JR. (D PA.) -- Beat Sen. James H. Duff (R) 2,242,309 to 2,224,894 votes with 8,806 out of 8,808 precincts reported.

Clark defeated one of President Eisenhower's original supporters; charged Duff was a "do nothing" Senator.

Clark, 55, repudiated his Republican background in 1928 to support Al Smith for President. He made his first bid for public office in 1934 when he ran for the Philadelphia City Council. He lost that race and also filed as campaign manager to elect Richardson Dilworth (D) Philadelphia's mayor in 1947. But in 1951 -- with the backing of reform, labor and Americans for Democratic Action groups -- Clark became the first Democrat since 1884 to be elected mayor of Philadelphia. He supported Sen. Estes Kefauver's (D Tenn.) Presidential bid in 1952. Clark sums up his political philosophy as "Right Wing New Deal."

• JOHN SHERMAN COOPER (R KY.) -- Beat former Gov. Lawrence W. Wetherby (D 1950-55) 496,852 to 448,035 votes with 3,800 of 4,052 precincts reported.

Requested by President Eisenhower to run for the Senate, Cooper campaigned as an all-out Eisenhower supporter. Cooper, 55, started in politics by serving in the Kentucky house of representatives (1928-30). After serving as a Pulaski County judge (1930-38), Cooper ran in 1939 for his party's nomination as governor. He was defeated by almost a 2-1 margin by King Swope, Lexington County judge. Cooper was elected to the Senate in 1946 to fill the unexpired term of Gov. A.B. "Happy" Chandler (D), but lost his bid for that seat in 1948. In 1952, he was elected to another unexpired Senate term. He lost it to the late Sen. Alben W. Barkley (D 1927-48; 1955-56) in 1954, became Ambassador to India in 1955. His voting scores while in Congress:

	1	2	3	4	5
83rd Congress	67%	27%	62%	85%	93%
80th Congress			66	95	96

• JACOB K. JAVITS (R N.Y.) -- Beat New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner Jr. (D) 3,700,273 to 3,256,898 votes with 11,129 of 11,132 precincts reported.

Javits, 52, won national prominence in 1954 by beating Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. (D) for New York State Attorney General by 170,000 votes, the only Republican to win a state race in New York that year. Javits' party nomination Sept. 10 to run for the seat of retiring Sen. Herbert H. Lehman followed his appearance before the Senate Judiciary Internal Security Subcommittee. He requested the hearing to rebut reports that Communists helped his political career.

Javits was elected to the House in 1947 and was re-elected by his usually Democratic 21st District to three additional terms. He served on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and voted for the St. Lawrence Seaway, outlawing the poll tax, reducing income taxes and expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Javits voted against cutting foreign aid, the Taft-Hartley Act, a loyalty board with power to fire federal employees, rigid farm price supports and a move to kill low cost public housing provisions. His voting scores while in Congress:

	1	2	3	4	5
83rd Congress	67%	28%	42%	83%	95%
82nd Congress		15	78	82	
81st Congress		27	84	83	
80th Congress		62	74	80	

• FRANK JOHN LAUSCHE (D OHIO) -- Beat Sen. George H. Bender (R) for the seat of the late Sen. Robert A. Taft 1,857,693 to 1,657,686 with all precincts reported.

Lausche got his foot on the political ladder in 1932 when he was named to the Cleveland bench. He won that judgeship the next year and was appointed a Cuyahoga County judge in 1937. Elected mayor of Cleveland in 1941, he parlayed two terms in that office into the governorship in 1944. He lost the governorship in 1946, but won it back in 1948 and kept it. He is currently in his fifth term with a go-it-alone political philosophy that sometimes angers organization Democrats. He said he was not sure he would vote for his own party to organize the Senate and admitted he had voted for Taft, "Mr. Republican," in the latter's 1950 Senate race. In 1952, he won the governorship by 425,000 votes while President Eisenhower carried Ohio by 500,000 votes. Lausche will be 61 Nov. 14.

• THRUSTON BALLARD MORTON (R KY.) (Representative 1947-53) -- Beat Sen. Earle C. Clements (D) 479,215 to 474,898 votes with 3,822 of 4,052 precincts reported.

Morton resigned as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations to contest the seat of Assistant Democratic Leader Clements, involved in an intra-party dispute with forces of Gov. A. B. (Happy) Chandler.

Morton, 39, is board chairman of his family's milling concern in Louisville. He opened up his first Congressional campaign in 1946 by criticizing government controls which he said weakened free enterprise. He was elected that year and re-elected in 1948 and in 1950. While a Representative, Morton voted for foreign aid, federal aid to highways, the Taft anti-inflation bill, 1948 Displaced Persons Act, Greek and Turkish Aid and the 1950 Fair Employment Practices Act. He voted against a 1952 Defense Production Act amendment "requesting" the President to settle the steel strike by injunction rather than by seizure. His voting scores:

	3	4	5
82nd Congress	69%	85%	68%
81st Congress	67	89	77
80th Congress	71	93	83

• W. CHAPMAN REVERCOMB (R W.VA.) -- Beat Gov. William C. Marland 425,930 to 366,741 votes with 2,763 of 2,810 precincts reported.

Revercomb, 61, served in the Senate from 1943-49, but was defeated in his 1948 bid for re-election. In 1947, he became Chairman of the newly formed Senate Public Works Committee. On public works matters, he voted against an appropriation to continue the National Resources Planning Board in 1943, against an appropriation for postwar economic planning in 1945 and against an amendment to reduce federal aid to airports. He voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, for income tax reductions, against a public-housing bill.

Revercomb's voting scores while in Congress:

	3	4	5
80th Congress	88%	76%	87%
79th Congress	82	71	87

Voting Scores

CQ voting scores are given under Columns 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 in the biographies of those candidates who have served in Congress. The key:

- COLUMN 1, EISENHOWER SUPPORT -- Percentage of Eisenhower-issue roll calls on which Senator or Representative voted in agreement with the President during a specific Congress or Session. The percentage is based only on those votes on which it was possible to say, on the basis of the President's statements before the roll call, how Mr. Eisenhower would have voted if he were a Congressman.

- COLUMN 2, EISENHOWER OPPOSITION -- Percentage of Eisenhower-issue roll calls on which Senator or Representative voted in disagreement with the President's position.

- COLUMN 3, PARTY UNITY -- The percentage of roll calls on which the Senator or Representative voted with the majority of his party when that majority was opposed to the majority of the other party.

- COLUMN 4, BIPARTISAN SUPPORT -- Percentage of roll calls on which Senator or Representative voted with his party's majority when both party majorities were in agreement.

- COLUMN 5, ON THE RECORD -- The percentage of roll-call votes on which a Senator or a Representative made his position a matter of public record, either by voting, announcing his stand or answering a CQ poll.

Starting in the 1955 session of Congress, Party Unity and Bipartisan Support scores were calculated under a revised formula which weighed only actual votes. The old formula included announced stands as well as votes. The new formula also bases a Member's score on all party unity and bipartisan roll calls for which he was eligible. The old formula was based only on those party unity and bipartisan roll calls on which a Member voted or announced his stand, so failures to vote did not lower his score.

- HERMAN EUGENE TALMADGE (DGA.) -- Unopposed for election to the seat of Walter F. George (D), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Talmadge name has been on the ballot in every major Georgia election from 1926-54. In that time Herman Talmadge won two gubernatorial elections, his father, Eugene, four. During Herman Talmadge's two terms as governor, 10,000 miles of new highways, new schools, hospitals and other institutions were built. The projects were financed by a 3 percent sales tax that kept the budget balanced.

Talmadge, 43, practiced law with his father from 1936-41 and again from 1945-48. He resumed law practice after he vacated the governorship in 1955.

Often mentioned as a rallying point for southern states rights and segregationist forces, Talmadge is a staunch defender of what he calls the "southern way of life." He has said, "(segregation) has proven itself to the best interests of both races." He predicted Sept. 25, 1950, that Negro attempts to enter white schools in his state "would create more confusion, disorder, riots and bloodshed than anything since the War Between the States." Reputedly an isolationist, he frequently has criticized foreign aid spending but contends, "I'm international minded...."

Senate Popular Vote Returns

Following are unofficial popular vote returns in the 35 Senate races held Nov. 6. An asterisk denotes the incumbent candidate.

State	Democratic Nominee	Republican Nominee
Ala.	Lester Hill*	None
Ariz.	Carl Hayden*	Ross F. Jones
	160,882	100,598
Ark.	J. W. Fulbright*	Ben C. Henley
	267,485	60,037
Calif.	Richard Richards	Thomas H. Kuchel*
	1,656,867	1,944,881
Colo.	John A. Carroll	Dan Thornton
	322,786	315,061
Conn.	Thomas J. Dodd	Prescott Bush*
	478,743	606,367
Fla.	George A. Smathers*	None
Ga.	Herman E. Talmadge	None
Idaho	Frank Church	Herman Welker*
	149,302	101,598
Ill.	Richard Stengel	Everett M. Dirksen*
	1,867,490	2,218,343
Ind.	Claude R. Wickard	Homer E. Capehart*
	869,550	1,078,119
Iowa	R. M. Evans	Bourke B. Hickenlooper*
	543,187	634,317
Kan.	George Hart	Frank Carlson*
	332,369	466,669
Ky.	Lawrence W. Wetherby	John S. Cooper
	448,035	496,852
Ky.	Earle C. Clements*	Thurston B. Morton
	474,898	479,215
La.	Russell B. Long*	None
Md.	George P. Mahoney	John M. Butler*
	415,292	465,269
Mo.	Thomas C. Hennings Jr. *	Herbert Douglas
	958,343	731,101
Nev.	Alan Bible*	Clifton Young
	49,255	44,654
N. H.	Laurence M. Pickett	Norris Cotton*
	90,750	159,862
N. Y.	Robert F. Wagner	Jacob K. Javits
	3,256,898	3,700,273
N. C.	Sam J. Ervin Jr. *	Joel A. Johnson
	485,238	231,044
N. D.	Quentin Burdick	Milton R. Young*
	63,156	108,964
Ohio	Frank J. Lausche	George H. Bender*
	1,857,693	1,657,686
Oklahoma	A.S. Mike Monroney*	Douglas McKeever
	457,471	368,864
Ore.	Wayne Morse*	Douglas McKay
	384,046	324,159
Pa.	Joseph S. Clark Jr.	James H. Duff*
	2,242,309	2,224,894
S. C.	Olin D. Johnston*	L. P. Crawford
	199,220	40,476
S. C.	Strom Thurmond	None
S. D.	Ken Holum	Francis Case*
	133,251	140,551
Utah	Alonzo F. Hopkin	Wallace F. Bennett*
	151,946	178,210
Vt.	Bernard G. O'Shea	George D. Aiken*
	52,170	103,127
Wash.	Warren G. Magnuson*	Arthur B. Langlie
	608,854	382,864
W. Va.	William C. Marland	W. Chapman Revercomb
	366,741	425,930
Wis.	Henry W. Maier	Alexander Wiley*
	590,161	844,565

Freshman Representatives, Senators, Governors

Following is a list of freshman Representatives, Senators and Governors elected Nov. 6, 1956, and the persons they will replace in 1957.

HOUSE NEWCOMERS

State	Dist.	Who Won Seat	Who Held Seat
Calif.	11th	John J. McFall (D)	Leroy Johnson (R)
Calif.	20th	H. Allen Smith (R)	Carl Hinshaw (R) 2
Calif.	29th	D.S. Saund (D)	John Phillips (R) 1
Conn.	1st	Edward H. May Jr. (R)	Thomas J. Dodd (D) 3
Del.	AL	Harry G. Haskell Jr. (R)	Harrise B. McDowell Jr. (D)
Ill.	3rd	Emmet F. Byrne (R)	James C. Murray (D)
Ill.	10th	Harold R. Collier (R)	Richard W. Hoffman (R) 1
Ill.	14th	Russell W. Keeney (R)	Chauncey W. Reed (R) 2
Ill.	18th	Robert H. Michell (R)	Harold H. Veider (R) 1
Ind.	3rd	F. Jay Nimtz (D)	Shepard J. Crumpacker Jr. (R) 1
Iowa	6th	Merwin Coad (R)	James I. Dolliver (R)
Kan.	5th	J. Floyd Breeding (D)	Clifford R. Hope (R) 1
Maine	2nd	Frank M. Coffin (D)	Charles P. Nelson (R) 1
Mich.	6th	Charles E. Chamberlin (R)	Don Hayworth (D)
Mich.	7th	Robert J. McIntosh (R)	Jesse P. Wolcott (R) 1
Mich.	9th	Robert P. Griffin (R)	Ruth Thompson (R) 5
Mich.	18th	William S. Broomfield (R)	George A. Dondero (R)
Mo.	7th	Charles H. Brown (D)	Dewey Short (R)
Mont.	2nd	Leroy A. Anderson (D)	Orvin B. Fjare (R)
Neb.	2nd	Glenn Cunningham (R)	Jackson B. Chase (R) 1
Neb.	3rd	Lawrence Brock (D)*	Robert D. Harrison (R)
Nebr.	AL	Walter S. Baring (D)	Cliff Young (R) 3
N.J.	6th	Florence P. Dwyer (R)	Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D)
N.J.	13th	Norman H. Roth (R)*	Alfred D. Sieminski (D)
N.J.	14th	Vincent J. Delley (R)	T. James Tumulty (D)
N.Y.	18th	Alfred E. Santangelo (D)	James G. Donovan (R)
N.Y.	19th	Leonard Farbstein (D)	Arthur G. Klein (D) 1
N.Y.	20th	Ludwig Teller (D)	Irwin D. Davidson (D) 1
N.Y.	26th	Edwin B. Dooley (R)	Ralph A. Gamble (R) 1
N.C.	5th	Ralph J. Scott (D)	Thurmond Chatham (D) 5
N.C.	7th	Alton Lennon (D)	F. Erel Carlyle (D) 5
N.C.	8th	A. Paul Kitchin (D)	Charles B. Deane (D) 5
N.C.	11th	Basil L. Whitener (D)	Woodrow W. Jones (D) 1
Ohio	11th	David S. Dennison Jr. (R)	Oliver P. Bolton (R) 1
Oklahoma	6th	Toby Morris (D)	Victor Wickersham (D) 5
Ore.	2nd	Al Ullman (D)*	Sam Coon (R)
Ore.	4th	Charles O. Porter (D)*	Harris Ellsworth (R)
Pa.	2nd	Kathryn E. Granahan (D)	William T. Granahan (D) 2
Pa.	8th	Willard S. Curtin (R)	Karl C. King (R) 1
Pa.	19th	S. Walter Stauffer (R)	James M. Quigley (D)
S.C.	5th	Robert W. Hemphill (D)	James P. Richards (D) 1
S.D.	1st	George S. McGovern (D)	Harold O. Love (R)
Tenn.	5th	J. Carlton Loser (D)	J. Percy Priest (D) 2
Texas	3rd	Lindley G. Beckworth (D)	Brady Gentry (D) 1
Texas	14th	John Young (D)	John J. Bell (D) 5
Wash.	4th	Frank LeRoux (D)*	Hal Holmes (R)
W. Va.	1st	Arch A. Moore Jr. (R)	Robert H. Mollohan (D) 4
W. Va.	4th	Will E. Neal (R)	M.G. Burnside (D)
Wis.	2nd	Donald E. Tewes (R)	Glenn R. Davis (R) 3

SENATE

Colo.	John A. Carroll (D)	Eugene D. Millikin (R) 1
Idaho	Herman Talmadge (D)	Walter F. George (D) 1
Idaho	Frank Church (D)	Herman Welker (R)
Ky.	Thurston B. Morton (R)	Earle C. Clements (D)
Ky.	John Sherman Cooper (R)	Robert Humphreys (D) 1
N.Y.	Jacob K. Javits (R)	Herbert H. Lehman (D) 1
Ohio	Frank J. Lausche (D)	George H. Bender (R)
Pa.	Joseph S. Clark Jr. (D)	James H. Duff (R)
W. Va.	W. Chapman Revercomb (R)	William R. Laird (D) 1

GOVERNORSHIPS**

Colo.	Stephen L.R. McNichols (D)	Edwin C. Johnson (D) 1
Ind.	Harold W. Handly (R)	George N. Craig (R) 6
Iowa	Herschel C. Loveless (D)	Leo A. Hoegh (R)
Kan.	George Docking (D)	Fred Hall (R) 5
Mass.	Foster Furcolo (D)	Christian A. Herter (R) 1
Mo.	James T. Blair Jr. (D)	Phil M. Donnelly (D) 6
N.M.	Edwin L. Mechem (R)	John F. Simms (D)
Ohio	C. William O'Neill (R)	Frank J. Lausche (D) 3
Ore.	Robert D. Holmes (D)	Elmo Smith (R)
Texas	Price Daniel (D)	Allan Shivers (D) 1
Utah	George D. Clyde (R)	J. Bracken Lee (R) 5
Wash.	Albert D. Rosellini (D)	Arthur B. Langlie (R) 3
W. Va.	Cecil H. Underwood (R)	William C. Marland (D) 3,5
Wis.	Vernon W. Thomson (R)	Walter J. Kohler (R) 1

*Probable winner as of Nov. 9.

**Rhode Island, where gubernatorial results are indecisive, has not been included.

1 -- Retired

4 -- Ran for Governor

2 -- Deceased

5 -- Defeated in primary

3 -- Ran for Senate

6 -- Cannot succeed himself

2nd Time in History . . .

PRESIDENT ELECTED WITH OPPOSING CONGRESS

For the second time in American history the voters have bestowed the Presidency on one party and control of both chambers of Congress on another.

In 1848, Zachary Taylor, a Whig, was elected President, but the Democrats won a 10-vote lead in the Senate and a three-vote lead in the House. Such a split was not repeated until 1956, when the electorate teamed President Eisenhower with a Democratic Congress.

Since the Civil War, 11 Presidents, including Mr. Eisenhower, have bucked Congressional opposition in one or both chambers. In every case but two, this resulted from mid-term elections. The two exceptions: Democrat Grover Cleveland, who faced a seven-vote Republican majority in the Senate at the beginning of his first term in 1885, and Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, who faced a 19-vote Democratic majority in the House in 1877.

Only two Republican Presidents since the Civil War have faced opposition of both Senate and House. The first was Hayes in the 46th Congress (1879-81). The second was President Eisenhower in the 84th (1955-57).

Four Democratic Presidents since the Civil War have suffered opposition control of both chambers of Congress. Most recent was Harry S. Truman, who in 1947-48 had a GOP-controlled Senate and House. Truman won re-election and a Congressional majority in 1948 with a vigorous campaign studded with blasts at the "worst" 80th Congress. Other Presidents saddled with opposition Congresses were Woodrow Wilson, Cleveland in his second term and Andrew Johnson. Johnson, a War Democrat, was Abraham Lincoln's Vice President. Following Lincoln's assassination, Johnson struggled through his term with both the 39th and 40th Congresses controlled by Republicans.

Cleveland was the only post-Civil War President to face a Senate controlled by the opposition party while the House remained in friendly hands. But it happened to him twice, during the 49th and 50th Congresses. Both times Democrats retained sizeable majorities in the House, but Republicans organized the Senate.

House Opposition

Six times during Republican Presidencies Democrats controlled the House while the GOP organized the Senate. Most recent case occurred during the Administration of Herbert Hoover in 1931-33. Democrats organized the House because of deaths between the election and the convening of the 72nd Congress, but Republicans retained their grip on the Senate.

Other Presidents since Civil War days who faced friendly Senates and opposition-dominated Houses: Hayes, William Howard Taft, Benjamin Harrison, Chester A. Arthur and Ulysses S. Grant. All were Republicans.

All told, Presidents have had to cope with opposition control of one or both chambers of Congress 15 times since the Civil War. Party splits between the administration and Congress occurred 10 times between 1861 and 1900.

Since the turn of the century, five administrations have bucked opposition control of one or both chambers. In three of these cases the opposition party went on to win the Presidency in the next election.

Democrats who controlled the House in 1911-13, during the Taft Administration, pushed through many so-called "pop gun" measures. Taft's vetoes of these bills was one cause of his defeat in 1912.

Woodrow Wilson faced the problem in 1919-21, when Republicans controlled both chambers of the 66th Congress. Democrats organized the House during the last two years of the Hoover Administration, and, according to the ex-President, used "sabotage and obstructionist tactics." Both Hoover and Wilson met defeat at the polls at the next general election.

Republicans controlled both chambers in 1947-49 and battled President Truman over tax cuts and a new labor law. Truman went on to win re-election and a Congress of his own political complexion. The fifth case was that of President Eisenhower and the 84th Congress. Mr. Eisenhower was re-elected, but he failed to get the GOP Congress he asked for.

Minority Parties

Twice since the Civil War independents or members of minority parties have helped the party of the White House influence the organization of one chamber of Congress. The most recent case was in 1917, when the Democrats organized the House even though the Republicans outnumbered them 216-210. Nine Representatives from other parties teamed up with the Democrats to elect a Democratic Speaker, Champ Clark.

Other-party members also helped break the only Republican-Democratic deadlock in history at the start of a Senate session. The Senate party lineup in 1881, at the start of the 47th Congress, was 37 Republicans, 37 Democrats and two Senators of other parties. A Republican, Chester A. Arthur, was in the White House. Senate Republicans, joined by one "Readjustor," finally elected David Davis as Senate President Pro Tem. Davis, a former Republican who had been elected to the Senate as a Democrat, said he considered his selection as President Pro Tem recognition of his "independent position" in politics. He frequently supported the GOP cause and was criticized by Democrats for his lack of party regularity.

Presidential Weapon -- The Veto

The Presidential veto has been a potent and often used weapon in the "cold war" between a President and an opposition Congress. But if Congress and the President run true to form, President Eisenhower will use it sparingly in the 85th Congress. During the Democratic 84th, Mr. Eisenhower vetoed 33 measures, less than the 52 he vetoed during the Republican 83rd.

Five of his predecessors found the veto power useful in dealing with an opposition Congress. Truman vetoed 250 measures during the nearly eight years he was President, almost one-third of them during the Republican 80th Congress. Cleveland used the veto power 584 times during his two terms as President. Only Franklin D. Roosevelt used it more. Wilson used 28 of his 44 vetoes when the Republicans ran Congress. Hayes vetoed only 13 measures and Johnson 28. Fifteen of Johnson's vetoes were overridden, an all-time record which suggests that a determined Congress always can have the last word.

HISTORY OF OPPOSITION CONTROL OF CONGRESS

Both Chambers

CONGRESS	PRESIDENT	SENATE			HOUSE		
		Dem	GOP	Other	Dem	GOP	Other
85th (1957-59)*	Eisenhower (R)	50	46	0	235	200	0
34th (1955-57)	Eisenhower (R)	48	47	1	231	203	1
80th (1947-49)	Truman (D)	45	51	0	187	245	3
66th (1919-21)	Wilson (D)	47	48	1	191	237	7
54th (1895-97)	Cleveland (D)	39	44	5	104	246	7
46th (1879-81)	Hayes (R)	43	33	0	150	128	15
40th (1867-69)	Johnson (D)**	11	42	0	49	143	1
39th (1865-67)	Johnson (D)**	10	42	0	46	145	0

Senate Only

50th (1887-89)	Cleveland (D)	37	39	0	170	151	4
49th (1885-87)	Cleveland (D)	34	41	1	182	140	3

House Only

72nd (1931-33)	Hoover (R)	47	48	1	218	214	3
62nd (1911-13)	Taft (R)	42	49	1	228	162	1
52nd (1891-93)	Harrison (R)	39	47	2	231	88	14
48th (1883-85)	Arthur (R)	36	40	0	200	119	6
45th (1877-79)	Hayes (R)	36	39	1	156	137	0
44th (1875-77)	Grant (R)	29	46	1	181	107	5

* Some 1956 races still in doubt, leader as of Nov. 18 given seat.

** Johnson, a War Democrat, was a coalition running mate with Lincoln.

(FIGURES REFLECT LINEUPS AT BEGINNING OF EACH CONGRESS)

WOMEN IN CONGRESS

The gentlemen in Congress will lend an ear to 16 women Members in 1957, as they did during most of the 84th Congress. Women legislators held their own on Capitol Hill, adding two new faces and losing two incumbents.

Fifteen women won seats in the House on Nov. 6. The term of the lone female Senator, Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith (R Maine), does not end until 1960. The Democratic women bested their Republican sisters in the election, taking nine seats to their GOP opponents' six. All but one winner in each party were incumbents.

The two new women Members of Congress are Mrs. Florence P. Dwyer, a New Jersey Republican, and Mrs. Kathryn E. Granahan, a Pennsylvania Democrat. Mrs. Dwyer was the first Republican woman ever nominated in her state. She won her seat from the Democratic incumbent, Harrison A. Williams Jr. Mrs. Granahan is the widow of Rep. William T. Granahan who died in May, 1955. Rep. Granahan had served in Congress for five terms (79th, 81st-84th). Mrs. Granahan won over Republican candidate Robert F. Frankenfield.

Two women incumbents -- both Republicans -- were defeated. Rep. Ruth Thompson of Michigan lost in the state primary, and Mrs. Elizabeth P. Farrington, the Delegate from Hawaii, lost to newcomer John Burns (D) in her try for a second full term. Mrs. Farrington first was elected to Congress in 1954 to complete the unexpired term of her husband, Joseph Rider Farrington.

In the 84th Congress there were 17 women in the first session, but the death of Rep. Vera Buchanan (D Pa.) in November, 1955, reduced their number to 16. Then, as in the upcoming Congress, all but one woman served in the House. Until Mrs. Buchanan's death, then as now, there were nine women Democrats.

In the 1956 campaign, 30 women, including the Delegate from Hawaii, sought House seats; one woman sought a Senate post. Of the 30 House candidates, 15 were Republicans, 15 Democrats. The lone Senatorial candidate, Mrs. Suzanne Silvercruys Stevenson, sister of the Belgian Ambassador to the United States, ran as an Independent Republican in Connecticut. She ran behind the Democratic candidate, Rep. Thomas J. Dodd, as well as the Republican incumbent and winner, Prescott Bush.

Among those women returned to office was the dean of all Congresswomen -- Mrs. Edith Nourse Rogers (R Mass.) who first was elected to Congress in 1925 and returns now for her 17th term.

Other incumbents who retained their seats:

Georgia -- Mrs. Iris F. Blitch (D), unopposed.

Idaho -- Mrs. Gracie Pfost (D), returned for her third term after defeating another woman, Louise Shadduck.

Illinois -- Mrs. Marguerite Stitt Church (R), re-elected to her fourth term by defeating another woman, Mrs. Helen Benson Leys.

Indiana -- Mrs. Cecil M. Harden (R), re-elected to her fifth term.

Michigan -- Mrs. Martha Griffiths (D), re-elected to her second term.

Minnesota -- Mrs. Coya Knutson (D), returned for a second term after defeating ex-Rep. Harold Hagen, whom she also defeated in 1954.

Missouri -- Mrs. Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (D), re-elected to a third term.

New York -- Mrs. Katharine St. George (R), re-elected to her sixth term, after defeating cartoonist Bill Mauldin.

Ohio -- Mrs. Frances P. Bolton (R), returned for a 10th term.

Oregon -- Mrs. Edith Green (D), re-elected to her second term.

West Virginia -- Mrs. Elizabeth Kee (D), returned to a third term.

HAWAII ELECTION

Hawaii elected a Democratic Delegate to Congress for the first time since 1932 and gave the Democrats continued control of the territorial legislature. John A. Burns (D) led incumbent Mrs. Elizabeth P. Farrington with 74,878 to 61,247 votes in 179 of 187 precincts. In 1954, Burns first challenged Mrs. Farrington, and came within 818 votes of defeating her. Mrs. Farrington was elected at a special election July 31, 1954, to complete the unexpired term of her husband, Joseph R. Farrington, who died in office.

PUERTO RICO ELECTION

Antonio Fernos-Isern, Popular Democrat, Nov. 6 was re-elected to Congress as Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico. In local elections, Gov. Luis Munoz Marin was re-elected for a third term. Returns from all 76 of the island's municipalities gave the governor's Popular party 430,747 votes. The Statehood party, the main opposition, trailed with 167,112 votes.

NEW SENATORS VS. OLD			
WILL EISENHOWER'S PROGRAM GAIN, LOSE OR BREAK EVEN?			
+ GAIN - LOSE = BREAK-EVEN			
NEW SENATOR	OLD SENATOR	FOREIGN AFFAIRS	DOMESTIC AFFAIRS
CARROLL (D COLO.)	MILLIKIN (R)	=	-
TALMADGE (D GA.)	GEORGE (D)	-	=
CHURCH (D IDAHO)	WELKER (R)	+	-
COOPER (R KY.)	BARKLEY (D)	=	+
JAVITS (R N.Y.)	LEHMAN (D)	=	+
LAUSCHE (D OHIO)	BENDER (R)	-	-
CLARK (D PA.)	DUFF (R)	-	-
REVERCOMB (R W.VA.)	KIGORE (D)	-	+
MORTON (R KY.)	CLEMENTIS (D)	+	+
TOTAL GAINS		2	4
TOTAL LOSSES		4	4
BREAK-EVEN		3	1
(SEE STORY, P. 1388)			

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DEMOCRATS ADD TO THEIR GOVERNORSHIPS

Of the 30 gubernatorial races in the 1956 election, Democrats won 15, Republicans 14 and one race -- in Rhode Island -- was undecided. The final outcome in Rhode Island will be in doubt until Dec. 5, when servicemen's absentee ballots will be counted.

The decided races give the Democrats 28 governors for 1957 to 19 for the GOP. The pre-election division of governors was 27 Democrats and 21 Republicans. Fourteen Democratic seats and 16 GOP seats were at stake in 1956. Maine's Democratic Gov. Edmund S. Muskie already had been re-elected Sept. 10.

Democrats ousted Republicans in Massachusetts, Iowa, Kansas, Oregon and Washington. In Kansas, Iowa and Oregon they defeated Republican incumbents. In Massachusetts, Republican Gov. Christian A. Herter was not a candidate for re-election. In Washington, Republican Gov. Arthur B. Langlie was the unsuccessful GOP candidate for the Senate.

Republicans ousted Democrats in West Virginia, Ohio and New Mexico. In New Mexico the Democratic incumbent was defeated. In West Virginia Gov. William C. Marland was an unsuccessful Senate candidate. Ohio Gov. Frank J. Lausche ran for the Senate and won.

Senate Balance

Twenty-two governors might have an opportunity to shift the Senate balance in the 85th Congress if at least one of their state's Senators died or resigned.

In 1957, 20 Republican Senators will represent 13 states where a Democrat sits in the governor's chair:

State	Senator	Age
Arizona	Barry Goldwater	47
Colorado	Gordon Allott	49
Connecticut	Prescott Bush	61
	William A. Purtell	59
Iowa	Bourke B. Hickenlooper	60
	Thomas E. Martin	63
Kansas	Frank Carlson	63
	Andrew F. Schoeppel	62
Kentucky	John Sherman Cooper	55
	Thruston B. Morton	49
Maine	Margaret Chase Smith	59
	Frederick G. Payne	56
Massachusetts	Leverett Saltonstall	64
Michigan	Charles E. Potter	40
Minnesota	Edward J. Thye	60
New Jersey	Clifford P. Case	52
	H. Alexander Smith	76
New York	Irving M. Ives	60
	Jacob K. Javits	52
Pennsylvania	Edward Martin	77

Eleven Democratic Senators will represent nine states where a Republican occupies the state house:

State	Senator	Age
Delaware	J. Allen Frear Jr.	53
Idaho	Frank Church	32
Illinois	Paul H. Douglas	64
Montana	Mike Mansfield	53
	James E. Murray	80
Nevada	Alan Bible	47
New Mexico	Dennis Chavez	68
	Clinton P. Anderson	61
Ohio	Frank J. Lausche	61
West Virginia	Matthew M. Neely	82
Wyoming	Joseph C. O'Mahoney	72

In addition, if the Republican gubernatorial candidate is elected in Rhode Island, Theodore Francis Green, 89, and John O. Pastore, 49, should be added to this list.

The Nation's Governors

Following is a list of governors of all 48 states and the years their terms expire. Democrats are in capital letters. The 28 governors elected in 1956 are underlined. One race (Rhode Island) is still in doubt.

Alabama -- JAMES E. FOLSOM 1958
Arizona -- <u>ERNEST W. McFARLAND</u> 1958
Arkansas -- <u>ORVAL FAUBUS</u> 1958
California -- Goodwin J. Knight 1958
Colorado -- <u>STEPHEN L. R. McNICHOLS</u> 1958
Connecticut -- <u>ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF</u> 1958
Delaware -- <u>J. Caleb Boggs</u> 1960
Florida -- <u>LeROY COLLINS</u> 1960
Georgia -- S. MARVIN GRIFFIN 1958
Idaho -- Robert S. Smylie 1958
Illinois -- <u>William G. Stratton</u> 1960
Indiana -- Harold W. Handley 1960
Iowa -- <u>HERSCHEL C. LOVELESS</u> 1958
Kansas -- <u>GEORGE DOCKING</u> 1958
Kentucky -- <u>ALBERT B. CHANDLER</u> 1959
Louisiana -- <u>EARL K. LONG</u> 1960
Maine -- <u>EDMUND S. MUSKIE</u> 1958
Maryland -- Theodore R. McKeldin 1958
Massachusetts -- <u>FOSTER FURCOLO</u> 1958
Michigan -- <u>G. MENNEN WILLIAMS</u> 1958
Minnesota -- <u>ORVILLE L. FREEMAN</u> 1958
Mississippi -- <u>JAMES P. COLEMAN</u> 1959
Missouri -- <u>JAMES T. BLAIR JR.</u> 1960
Montana -- <u>J. Hugo Aronson</u> 1960
Nebraska -- <u>Victor E. Anderson</u> 1958
Nevada -- Charles H. Russell 1958
New Hampshire -- Lane Dwinnell 1958
New Jersey -- <u>ROBERT B. MEYNER</u> 1957
New Mexico -- <u>Edwin L. Mechem</u> 1958
New York -- <u>AVERELL HARRIMAN</u> 1958
North Carolina -- <u>LUTHER H. HODGES</u> 1960
North Dakota -- <u>John E. Davis</u> 1958
Ohio -- <u>C. William O'Neill</u> 1958
Oklahoma -- <u>RAYMOND GARY</u> 1958
Oregon -- <u>ROBERT D. HOLMES</u> 1958
(Fill two years of unexpired four-year term)
Pennsylvania -- <u>GEORGE M. LEADER</u> 1958
Rhode Island -- <u>DENNIS J. ROBERTS (D)</u> 1958
(Roberts leads Christopher Del Sesto (R), but outcome in doubt until Dec. 5, 1956)
South Carolina -- <u>GEORGE B. TIMMERMAN JR.</u> 1958
South Dakota -- <u>Joe Foss</u> 1958
Tennessee -- <u>FRANK G. CLEMENT</u> 1958
Texas -- <u>PRICE DANIEL</u> 1958
Utah -- <u>George D. Clyde</u> 1960
Vermont -- <u>Joseph B. Johnson</u> 1958
Virginia -- <u>THOMAS B. STANLEY</u> 1957
Washington -- <u>ALBERT D. ROSELLINI</u> 1960
West Virginia -- <u>Cecil H. Underwood</u> 1960
Wisconsin -- <u>Vernon W. Thomson</u> 1958
Wyoming -- <u>Milward L. Simpson</u> 1958

LANE RE-ELECTED AFTER PRISON TERM

The second Congressman in United States history to be re-elected after serving a prison term will take his seat next January.

Massachusetts Democrat Thomas J. Lane Nov. 6 won his ninth term in the House of Representatives after serving four months in prison and paying a \$10,000 fine for willful evasion of income taxes.

The only other known Congressman to be jailed and then re-elected also was a New Englander who was jailed for four months -- Matthew Lyon, a Vermont Federalist convicted in 1779 of violating the Sedition Act.

Lane was sentenced in Boston April 30 after he admitted charges of willfully evading the payment of \$38,542 in federal income taxes for 1949, 1950 and 1951. He was indicted March 5, and pleaded innocent March 13. He later changed his plea to guilty after his request to plead *nolo contendere* was denied.

Released from prison only 14 days before the Sept. 18 Massachusetts primary, Lane easily won re-nomination in the heavily Democratic Seventh District encompassing the City of Lawrence, a Boston suburb.

In the Nov. 6 general election, Lane received an unofficial 87,332 votes to 48,154 for his Republican opponent, Robert T. Breed.

Lyon, a native of Ireland who settled in Vermont, was a successful Anti-Federalist candidate for the Fifth Congress (1797-98). His term was marked by sharp clashes with Federalist Representatives, and his animosity toward the Sedition Act led his opponents to watch for a means of retribution.

They found it in some allegedly libelous statements Lyon made in a letter to a Vermont newspaper. In October, 1798, Lyon was sentenced to four months in prison and fined \$1,000. His friends claimed there was "doubtful legality" and possible jury packing in his trial.

Lyon was re-elected in 1799 to the Sixth Congress by a substantial majority. In 1801, he moved to Kentucky and was elected from there to the Eighth Congress and the three succeeding Congresses (1803-1811).

In 1840, Congress passed a bill refunding Lyon's \$1,000 fine to his heirs -- an indication that the claim of "doubtful legality" may have been true.

WINNER'S, LOSER'S STATEMENTS

In an address to a Republican victory rally, President Dwight D. Eisenhower thanked his many supporters for approving his efforts in his part four years of office. He said "modern Republicanism has now proved itself. Modern Republicanism looks to the future. ...it will continue to increase in power and influence for decades to come...it will point the way to peace among nations, and to prosperity -- advancing standards here at home in which everybody will share, regardless of any accident of power...station...race, religion or color."

The President concluded with a pledge "to work for 168 million Americans here at home -- and for peace in the world."

Adlai E. Stevenson early Nov. 7 conceded the Presidential election to Mr. Eisenhower. He congratulated the President on the "expression of the great confidence of the American people."

Later, Stevenson thanked his running mate, Sen. Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.) and his supporters. He said: "...here in America the people have made their choice in a vigorous partisan contest that has affirmed again the vitality of the democratic process. I have tried to chart the road to a new and better America. ...I am...confident that our cause will ultimately prevail, for America can only go forward. ...Let us give the Administration all responsible support in the troubled times ahead. What unites us is deeper than what divides us -- love of freedom...justice...peace."

THIRD PARTY BID

States' Rights Candidates T. Coleman Andrews and ex-Rep. Thomas H. Werdel (R Calif. 1949-53) polled at least 118,000 votes, in incomplete unofficial tabulations. The ticket was supported by at least six parties in 10 states. (Weekly Report, p. 1325)

Andrews, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, accepted the third party nomination Oct. 15, ran on a platform calling for possible ultimate elimination of the income tax; rigid adherence to states' rights and deep cuts in domestic and foreign spending.

EDITORIAL SUPPORT

President Eisenhower had the editorial support of 62 percent of the nation's newspapers in his 1956 re-election campaign, *Editor & Publisher*, newspaper trade journal, reported Nov. 3. In a poll of 1,760 dailies, E & P found 740 backed the President while 189 or 15 percent supported Democratic candidate Adlai E. Stevenson. Pro-Eisenhower dailies represented 60 percent of total circulation; those which backed Stevenson, 10 percent. A 1952 E & P poll showed 933 of 1,385 dailies, or 67 percent, backed Mr. Eisenhower, to 202 or 14.5 percent for Stevenson.



Committee Roundup

CQ

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

COMMITTEE -- Senate Rules and Administration, Privileges and Elections Subcommittee.

ACTION -- Nov. 2 Released an interim report on campaign contributions and expenditures. (Weekly Report, p. 1221; 1953 Almanac, p. 40; 1955 Almanac, p. 722)

The report said its statistics were based on questionnaires filed with the Subcommittee and on reports filed with the Clerk of the House. The Subcommittee did not request information from organizations working for House candidates.

"Since it was obviously impossible to ascertain, identify and canvass all political committees...formed everywhere on behalf of Presidential, Vice Presidential and Senatorial candidates of both parties," the report said, "the study has been confined to the national committees which are required to file reports with the Clerk of the House, and to the state central, executive and finance committees" and to organizations in counties where the population was 500,000 or more, according to the 1950 census.

"Accordingly," the report said, "although the figures published in this interim report on campaign spending indicate a total aggregate amount for both parties in excess of \$11 million, this is only a fractional part of the total cost of the elections of 1956."

The Subcommittee's figures showed the Republican party received \$10,134,000 in campaign contributions from Sept. 1, 1956, through Oct. 21, 1956, while the Democrats received \$3,750,000. The Subcommittee emphasized these totals were not accurate because amounts often were counted more than once when they were transferred from one committee to another. The Subcommittee said the total party spending figures for the Sept. 1-Oct. 21 period were more significant because there was no duplication. Those spending figures: Republicans, \$5,743,000; Democrats, \$3,071,000; Labor, \$216,000.

The report said its hearings so far indicated:

The definition of the "political committee" in the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 was "inadequate, both as to providing an effective limitation on the amount which can be contributed by an individual and also as to providing adequate publicity to amounts contributed."

A limitation should be put upon the amount one person could contribute.

The section of the Communications Act regarding free time for political candidates should be amended to insure that candidates awarded free time represented a significant percentage of the population.

The report said the amounts shown on the accompanying table were received and spent by Senate candidates, according to reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate as of the Oct. 24 deadline.

Senate Candidates' Campaign Funds

STATE	CANDIDATE	DEMOCRATIC RECEIVED	DEMOCRATIC SPENT	REPUBLICAN RECEIVED	REPUBLICAN SPENT
Ala.	Lister Hill (D)	--	--		
Ariz.	Carl Hayden (D)	\$ 5,775	\$ 9,274	\$ 4,925	\$ 4,925
	Ross F. Jones (R)				
Ark.	J. W. Fulbright (D)	1,400	1,038	690	--
	Ben C. Henley (R)				
Calif.	Richard Richards (D)	46,168	41,515	5,325	5,325
	Thomas H. Kuchel (R)				
Colo.	John A. Carroll (D)	13,705	6,595	18,450	4,417
	Daniel J. Thornton (R)				
Conn.	Thomas J. Dodd (D)	2,000	1,637	--*	--*
	Prescott Bush (R)				
Fla.	George A. Smathers (D)	--	--		
Ga.	Herman A. Talmadge (D)	--	--		
Idaho	Frank Church (D)	1,805	5,960		
	Herman Welker (R)				
Ill.	Richard Stengel (D)	27,373	16,089	11,415	6,732
	Everett M. Dirksen (R)				
Ind.	Claude Wickard (D)	3,535	300	20,445	--
	Homer E. Capehart (R)				
Iowa	R. M. Evans (D)			Report filed after deadline.	
	Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R)			5,875	1,200
Kan.	George Hart (D)			Report filed after deadline.	
	Frank Carlson (R)			16,142	9,797
Ky.	Earle C. Clements (D)	--*	--*		
	Thruston B. Morton (R)				
	Lawrence W. Wetherby (D)	--*	--*	13,890	11,937
	John S. Cooper (R)				
La.	Russell B. Long (D)	--	--		
Md.	George P. Mahoney (D)	23,653	24,049	7,720	371
	John M. Butler (R)				
Mo.	Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (D)	17,632	3,990	14,010	11,502
	Herbert Douglas (R)				
Nev.	Alan Bible (D)	8,939	6,124	15,308	6,333
	Clifton Young (R)				
N. H.	Lawrence Pickett (D)	350	340		
	Norris Cotton (R)				
N. Y.	Robert F. Wagner Jr. (D)	--*	--*	6,300	6,598
	Jacob K. Javits (R)				
N. C.	Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D)	300	409	52,964	21,046
	Joel Johnson (R)			No report on file Nov. 1, 1956	
N. D.	Quentin Burdick (D)	4,465	3,427	785	--
	Milton R. Young (R)				
Ohio	Frank J. Lausche (D)	15,532	11,015	--*	--*
	George H. Bender (R)				
Okl.	A. S. (Mike) Monroney (D)	7,517	11,877	2,600	256
	Douglas McKeever (R)				
Ore.	Wayne Morse (D)	3,750	3,499	151,982	142,290
	Douglas McKay (R)				
Pa.	Joseph S. Clark, Jr. (D)	--*	3,340	8,127	2,466
	James H. Duff (R)				
S. C.	Olin D. Johnston (D)	--	--	55	55
	Leon T. Crawford (R)				
S. D.	Strom Thurmond (D)	--	--		
	Kenneth Holm (D)	12,974	10,134	5,000	1,180
	Francis Case (R)				
Utah	Alonzo Hopkin (D)	3,330	2,988	7,800	1,602
	Wallace F. Bennett (R)				
Vi.	Bernard O'Shea (D)	450	425	--	372
	George D. Aiken (R)				
Wash.	Warren G. Magnuson (D)	37,053	4,658	25,990	13,157
	Arthur B. Langlie (R)				
W. Va.	William C. Marland (D)	--	250	17,300	18,225
	W. Chapman Revercomb (R)				
Wis.	Henry W. Maier (D)	310	--	10,196	9,372
	Alexander Wiley (R)				
	TOTALS	\$238,036	\$168,933	\$578,609	\$316,005

* Report states receipts and expenditures being handled by state and/or local campaign committees which do not have to file reports with the Clerk of the House or the Secretary of the Senate.

In states where only one candidate is listed the candidate is unopposed.

SOURCE: REPORTS FILED WITH THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE

CHAIRMEN, RANKING MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES

Congressional custom dictates that the Member with the most service on a committee becomes its chairman when his party commands a majority in the chamber as a whole. The Democrats retained control of both the Senate and House in the Nov. 6 election. The list of committee chairmen (in capital letters) and ranking minority members for all committees for the 85th Congress if the seniority custom prevails and the Democrats organize Congress:

Senate Committees

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY -- ALLEN J. ELLENDER SR. (D La.), George D. Aiken (R Vt.).
APPROPRIATIONS -- CARL HAYDEN (D ARIZ.), Styles Bridges (R N.H.).
ARMED SERVICES -- RICHARD B. RUSSELL (D Ga.), Leverett Saltonstall (R Mass.).
BANKING AND CURRENCY -- J.W. FULBRIGHT (D Ark.), Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.).
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA -- MATTHEW M. NEELY (D W. Va.), J. Glenn Beall (R Md.).
FINANCE -- HARRY FLOOD BYRD (D Va.), Edward Martin (R Pa.).
FOREIGN RELATIONS -- THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN (D R.I.), Alexander Wiley (R Wis.).
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS (Budget and accounting measures, reorganization of the Executive Branch, general government administrative problems, government investigations) -- JOHN L. McCLELLAN (D Ark.), Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.).
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS (Public lands, natural resources, territorial possessions of the U.S., Indian affairs) -- JAMES E. MURRAY (D Mont.), George W. Malone (R Nev.).
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE -- WARREN G. MAGNUSEN (D Wash.), John W. Bricker (R Ohio).
JUDICIARY -- JAMES O. EASTLAND (D Miss.), William Langer (R N.D.).
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE -- LISTER HILL (D Ala.), H. Alexander Smith (R N.J.).
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE -- OLIN D. JOHNSON (D S.C.), Frank Carlson (R Kan.).
PUBLIC WORKS -- DENNIS CHAVEZ (D N.M.), Francis Case (R S.D.).
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION (Senate administration generally, management of the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution) -- THOMAS C. HENNINGS JR. (D Mo.), William E. Jenner (R Ind.).
SELECT SMALL BUSINESS (Studies and investigates problems of small business and reports findings and makes recommendations to the Senate, but cannot report legislation) -- JOHN J. SPARKMAN (D Ala.), Edward J. Thye (R Minn.).

House Committees

AGRICULTURE -- HAROLD D. COOLEY (D N.C.), August H. Andresen (R Minn.).
APPROPRIATIONS -- CLARENCE CANNON (D Mo.), John Taber (R N.Y.).
ARMED SERVICES -- CARL VINSON (D Ga.), Leslie C. Arends (R Ill.).
BANKING AND CURRENCY -- BRENT SPENCE (D Ky.), Henry O. Talle (R Iowa).
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA -- JOHN L. McMILLAN (D S.C.), Sid Simpson (R Ill.).
EDUCATION AND LABOR -- GRAHAM A. BARDEN (D N.C.), Samuel K. McConnell Jr. (R Pa.).
FOREIGN AFFAIRS -- THOMAS S. GORDON (D Ill.), Robert B. Chipley (R Ill.).
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS -- WILLIAM L. DAWSON (D Ill.), Clare E. Hoffman (R Mich.).
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION (House administration generally, printing and correction of the Congressional Record, management of the Library of Congress, supervision of Smithsonian Institution) -- OMAR BURLESON (D Texas), Karl M. LeCompte (R Iowa).

INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS -- CLAIR ENGLE (D Calif.), A.L. Miller (R Neb.).

INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE -- OREN HARRIS (D Ark.), Charles A. Wolverton (R N.J.).

JUDICIARY -- EMANUEL CELLER (D N.Y.), Kenneth B. Keating (R N.Y.).

MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES -- HERBERT C. BONNER (D N.C.), Thor C. Tolleson (R Wash.).

POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE -- TOM MURRAY (D Tenn.), Edward H. Rees (R Kan.).

PUBLIC WORKS -- CHARLES A. BUCKLEY (D N.Y.), J. Harry McGregor (R Ohio).

RULES (Vital committee which is gateway to House floor for most bills unless unusual procedures are followed. The Rules Committee can vote to keep a bill from going to the floor for action) -- HOWARD W. SMITH (D Va.), Leo E. Allen (R Ill.).

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (Investigates activities to see if they are subversive) -- FRANCIS E. WALTER (D Pa.), Bernard W. (Pat) Kearney (R N.Y.).

VETERANS' AFFAIRS -- OLIN E. TEAGUE (D Texas), Edith Nourse Rogers (R Mass.).

WAYS AND MEANS (Revenue measures generally, tariffs, reciprocal trade agreements, social security) -- JERE COOPER (D Tenn.), Daniel A. Reed (R N.Y.).

SELECT SMALL BUSINESS -- WRIGHT PATMAN (D Texas), William S. Hill (R Colo.).

Joint Committees

Following is a list of the five major Joint Congressional Committees and their probable chairmen:

ATOMIC ENERGY -- REP. CARL T. DURHAM (D N.C.), Chairman; SEN. CLINTON P. ANDERSON (D N.M.), Vice Chairman; W. Sterling Cole (R N.Y.), ranking minority House member; Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R Iowa), ranking minority Senate member.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION -- SEN. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON (D Va.), Chairman; REP. PAUL BROWN (D Ga.), Vice Chairman; Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.), ranking Senate minority member; Henry O. Talle (R Iowa), ranking House minority member.

ECONOMIC REPORT -- REP. W. RIGHT PATMAN (D Texas), Chairman; SEN. PAUL H. DOUGLAS (D Ill.), Vice Chairman; Henry O. Talle (R Iowa), ranking House minority member; Ralph E. Flanders (R Vt.), ranking Senate minority member.

IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY POLICY -- JAMES O. EASTLAND (D Miss.) and FRANCIS E. WALTER (D Pa.), ranking Senate and House majority members; Arthur V. Watkins (R Utah) and Ruth Thompson (R Mich.), ranking Senate and House minority members.

INTERNAL REVENUE TAXATION -- REP. JERE COOPER (D Tenn.), Chairman; SEN. HARRY FLOOD BYRD (D Va.), Vice Chairman; Daniel A. Reed (R N.Y.), ranking House minority member; Edward Martin (R Pa.), ranking Senate minority member.

Home States of 1957 Congressional Committee Chairmen

NUMBERS SHOW TOTAL CHAIRMEN FROM EACH STATE



1956 Campaign Statements

REPUBLICANS

These are the last major statements and speeches of Republican campaigners before the Nov. 6 election:

DWIGHT EISENHOWER

Following is a partial text of a Nov. 1 speech by President Eisenhower at Philadelphia:

Over all the din of our domestic debate these last weeks, we have heard other sounds -- louder still, and urgent with meaning -- sounds from across the world. We have heard -- with admiration and with hope -- the challenging cry for freedom of the peoples of Hungary and Poland. We have been reminded once again: This love of man for his freedom is the thing that no bullet can kill, nor any gallows strangle. And now, in these last days, we have heard other sounds of less happy portent. We have heard -- with deep dismay -- the crack of rifle fire and the whine of jet-bombers over the deserts of Egypt.

In such a world -- at such a time -- "a decent respect for the opinion of mankind" -- in the words of our Declaration of Independence -- requires that we state plainly the purposes we seek, the principles we hold.

We know -- as our forefathers knew -- the firm ground on which our beliefs must stand. Freedom is rooted in certainty that the brotherhood of all men springs from the fatherhood of God. And thus, even as each man is his brother's keeper, no man is another's master.

So it is that the laws most binding us as a people are laws of the spirit -- proclaimed in church and synagogue and mosque. These are the laws that truly declare the eternal equality of all men, of all races, before the man-made laws of our land. We know -- from this same faith -- that, in this democracy, we are called constantly to judge ourselves -- in self-criticism of all our deeds and decisions. Here stirs the "divine discontent" of America -- the inquisitive and inventive genius of our people -- our freedom and diversity of thought. And for this reason -- never dreading debate or dissent -- we have no need of censors or their ways. This America is too strong ever to acknowledge fear -- and too wise ever to fear knowledge. And so, too, is it true in the world; we can always honor and respect those nations who honorably disagree with us in a given moment of decision.

We are -- proudly -- a people with no sense of class or caste, we judge no man by name or inheritance, but by what he does -- and for what he stands. And, again; so likewise do we judge other nations. The right of no nation depends upon the date of its birth or the size of its power. As there can be no second-class citizens before the law of America, so -- we believe -- there can be no second-class nations before the law of the world community.

We -- finally -- look upon change, the ever-unfolding future, with confidence rather than doubt, hope rather than fear. We, as a people, were born of revolution itself, and we have lived by change -- always a frontier people, exploring -- if not new wilderness -- then new science, new knowledge. And from this springs our understanding of the world, our power to apply to the present the lessons of the past. In but a few years we have changed -- advanced -- from an isolationism spurning collective security -- to our steadfast support of the United Nations...from a sense of self-sufficiency and remoteness from other nations -- the vivid awareness that our greatest purpose -- a just and lasting peace -- can be attained only as all other nations share this peace with us.

And as we have witnessed momentous events in these very weeks, we have applied, in our conduct these principles by which America must ever live -- and strive to lead. In Eastern Europe, we have seen the spirit of freedom -- swift and strong -- strike through the darkness. The peoples of Poland and Hungary, brave

as ever through all their history, have offered their lives to live in liberty. And as the people have risen, so have new governments, and so has new hope.

How have we practiced our principles of this historic moment? We have always made clear that we would never renounce our hope and concern for these lands and people. We have denounced -- before the world forum of the United Nations -- the Soviet use of force in its earlier -- and vain attempt to suppress these peoples' risings. And we ourselves have abstained from use of force -- to it to be contrary to both the interests of these peoples, and to the spirit and methods of the United Nations. And we have welcomed these events for no selfish advantage. We seek from these peoples neither material gain nor military alliance. We seek simply their freedom -- for their sake, for freedom's sake.

We have, in these same days, been submitted to a less hopeful -- a much sterner -- test of our principles. A test -- I believe it is -- by which the world will judge us, for long to come. The United Nations -- within 48 hours of its being called to consider the matter of foreign -- Soviet -- forces in Hungary -- was called to judge the use of foreign forces in Egypt. I, as your President, am proud -- and I trust that you are proud -- that the United States declared itself against the use of force in, not one, but both these cases.

By what principles have we made these particular decisions? We cannot and we will not condone armed aggression -- no matter who the attacker, no matter who the victim. We cannot -- in the world, any more than in our own nation -- subscribe to one law for the weak, another law for the strong; one law for those opposing us, another for those allied with us. There can be only one law -- or there shall be no peace.

We do not speak -- let me emphasize -- in any angry spirit of self-righteousness. We value -- deeply and lastingly -- the bonds with those great nations, those great friends, with whom we now so plainly disagree. And I, for one, am confident that those bonds will do more than survive. They can -- and must -- grow to new and greater strength.

We realize, too, that, in the relations of nations, there often exists a just and proper area for compromise. But this we know above all: There are some firm principles that cannot bend -- they can only break. And we shall not break ours.

We believe that integrity of purpose is the fact that must, most surely, identify and fortify the free world in its struggle against Soviet communism. We cannot proclaim this integrity when the issue is easy -- and stifle it when the issue is hard. To do this would be to do something worse than merely making our great struggle in the world more difficult. For if we ever were to lose that integrity -- there would be no way to win a true victory in that struggle. This would be a surrender that we shall not make.

PRACTICE PEACE

My fellow citizens, we look beyond these days, and we say: We shall continue to practice the peace that we preach. We believe that humanity must now cease preying upon itself. We believe that the power of modern weapons makes war not only perilous -- but preposterous -- and the only way to win World War III is to prevent it.

We continue to build our strength not to wage war, but to be spared it. We can judge today the need of this strength by a simple question: Would we today feel safe or secure as a nation -- if we -- some time in the past -- had already ceased perfecting our military weapons and even abandoned our military draft? That is no formula for peace. It is a design for disaster. We hold -- firmly -- to a vital paradox and purpose: We maintain strength only in order some day to yield it -- in league with all other nations. We shall go on working ceaselessly for the sure and safe accord that alone will make this possible. For we seek, above all else, to lift -- from the backs of all men and all nations -- their terrible burden of arms.

We meet the doubts of nations who would be a neutral -- in the same spirit and confidence, and tolerance of dissent, that we practice in our own nation. To them, we say in candor: "Our disagreement denies you no respect. There is, however, one issue on which we believe you share our conviction that there can be no neutrality -- and that is your right to stay free."

Finally -- ever constant in the principles by which we live -- we sense a special concern for the fate and fortune of those 700 million people -- in 18 nations -- who have won full independence since World War II. We know and respect both their national pride and their economic need. We offer, from our own skills and resources, our help to build their future in freedom more securely.

Here we speak from the heart of our heritage. We, too, were born at a time when the tide of tyranny, running high, threatened to sweep the earth. We prevailed. And they shall prevail. For the everlasting promise of our own Declaration of Independence was what Lincoln declared it to be: "Liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all future time." These then, are America's greater purposes. They spring from our final faith in freedom.

Final Campaign Speech

Following is a partial text of a Nov. 5 speech by President Eisenhower to a GOP rally at Boston, Mass.:

Now in this campaign which is so rapidly drawing to a close, my associates and I have gone up and down the land contrasting the conditions of 1952 with those of today -- 1956. We think the record is a very good one, but we have not done this, I assure you, just to be boasting. But we have offered these proofs -- these actions -- that show where promises have been kept as proof of what we will do with the pledges we have yet to make.

So we have talked about our strength, in both defensive strength and our economic strength, as proof of the keeping of pledges we have made in the past. We have done the same about the fiscal integrity of the government. That is why, also, we have talked about more jobs and better pay. We have talked about tax cuts, and we have talked about personal security. All of these things, as I say, are merely to recall to your minds that we have made pledges about them. We have made similar pledges about the efforts to assist areas that have not been sharing equitably in the general prosperity of the country. As you know, we have developed many ways and means of helping them, including some tax cuts, other types of help, that involves government procurement, and so on.

So, all this persistent work has been done so as to translate into actual action, for the benefit of all Americans, the pledges that we have made to you in the past. But there is so much to do. Many things yet unfinished. For example, we need schools -- we need them desperately -- we need them now. We need more help for these lagging areas -- areas that have been damaged either by industries or factories moving to other areas or because industries in which they have engaged such as mining, have suffered losses due to changes in the types of fuel used by industry. Small business needs still more attention, and there will be bills submitted to the Congress for translating into laws to help them out.

New highways. We have got a highway program launched. Now we must push it, and that highway program itself does not represent at all everything that we must do. Airports -- new airports -- new safety measures -- means to make certain that air travel constantly increases in its safety as it increases in its speed. Help in special programs for the aged is another of the things that still must be carried forward to new levels.

One thing that has lagged, although we have made some little progress, is immigration. Our immigration laws and how they affect the various areas of the world, and indeed how they affect us and our future welfare. We will submit to the Congress renewed recommendations as to how these immigration laws may be better adjusted to our needs. And of course, with all of this, we shall continue our effort always to keep Government honest, fair and just. And that only fiscal integrity will characterize the monetary policies of your government. Now, outside the United States, the great objective of all true Americans remains: world peace. Now, in recent days we have had many crises that have tested our readiness to stand by principle. Justice is a necessary part of world peace.

because without justice there will be no peace. And there must be one law for all, not just one for us and one for the others. We must have one law that rules us all.

And then, because of the events in Eastern Europe, our hearts have gone out to the people of Poland and to Hungary, and we shall have given them the promise, not only that we shall never forget them and hold them dear in our hearts, but we have made offers of economic help -- food, shelter, clothing, medicines -- which we sincerely hope they may be able to accept.

RICHARD NIXON

Following is a partial text of an Oct. 31 speech by Vice President Richard M. Nixon at Harlem, New York City:

During the next four years there is no single issue which will be more important than civil rights. We must lead the way in providing equality of opportunity for all of our people regardless of race, religion, color or national origin. This is not a matter of charity or of politics -- it must be done because of what it means to our economic strength here at home: what it means to our standing throughout the world: and most important of all because, under our concept of government and religion, it is the right and moral thing to do.

Both parties in a campaign say they stand for progress in the field of civil rights. How do you decide which party you should support? In our daily lives we have learned to judge people not on what they say but on what they do. Tonight I ask you to judge the record of this administration on that same basis. If you do I know you will give President Eisenhower your solid support because there has been more progress -- more real achievement -- in eliminating discrimination, in ending segregation and in providing equal opportunity for work than during any similar period since the Emancipation Proclamation.

Under the leadership of the President there has been a major break-through of the sound barrier which for so many years blocked any action. As you know, half of the party to which Mr. Stevenson belongs supports and talks equality and the other half is dead set against it. Over the years a loud noise developed when one half talked, orated and demagogued about civil rights. But the other half blocked, stalled and side-tracked any action on civil rights so that a huge sound barrier was erected against any action for minority groups and prevented any forward progress. It served one purpose only -- to deceive and fool -- to substitute sound for action. Look at the platform of the opposition party. It is a jumble of words deceptively put together by the two halves of the party not to state their position but to avoid a split in their party. It is not a declaration of principle -- it is a document of deceit.

PRESIDENT HAS ACTED

Instead of getting a lot of talk, President Eisenhower has given you action. I don't have to tell you all the things that have been done because you know them -- more jobs at better pay; the end of segregation in the armed services; the end of discrimination in the capital of the United States; the hauling down of Jim Crow signs in interstate transportation; and the legal end of segregation in public schools after a strong and forthright stand by the administration in the Supreme Court of the United States, and many more.

I am here to talk not about the past but about the future. What does it mean for the future when you vote for President Eisenhower? A vote for the President means:

1. Better education for all of our people.
2. More jobs at higher pay in better positions.
3. Better and cheaper housing.
4. The end of Jim Crow laws in interstate transportation.
5. Most important of all -- a recognition of the dignity of man.

President Eisenhower will continue to place his great moral force into the battle for realizing the ideals on which our country was founded -- that all men are created equal, and all are entitled to equality of opportunity.

Remember this: the Republican party is solidly behind the President and his program which means that if you support him and elect a Republican Senate and House of Representatives you will get action, not filibusters -- deeds, not speeches, in the years ahead.

Middle East

Following is a partial text of a Nov. 2 speech by Nixon at Hershey, Pa.:

If there was ever any doubt that Mr. Stevenson lacked the knowledge, the judgment, and the experience to be President of the United States, he removed it by his speech last night on the Middle East situation.

He said the United States is standing alone in an unfriendly world. The lie to this preposterous charge was given within a few hours when 64 nations in the General Assembly of the United Nations gave their unqualified support to the position which was taken by our government with respect to the Middle East crisis. It is significant that only five opposed our resolution. This vote constituted a world-wide vote of confidence.

For the first time in history we have shown independence of Anglo-French policies toward Asia and Africa which seemed to us to reflect the colonial tradition. That declaration of independence has had an electrifying effect throughout the world. His assertion that the Western Alliance has broken down is a dangerous and irresponsible misrepresentation of fact which our friends in England and France would be the first to deny.

We cherish the friendship of Britain and France. We cherish also the friendship of Israel -- a courageous new democracy in the Middle East with so many close ties to the United States. But we Americans also believe deeply in the provisions of the United Nations' Charter under which all member nations renounce the use of armed force as an instrument of national policy. We say that force is wrong when it is used by our enemies and it is just as wrong when it is used by our friends.

Mr. Stevenson has charged that during the Eisenhower Administration, the Soviet Union achieved a long-sought foothold in the Middle East. He is right about this foothold but wrong about the Administration. It was during the Truman Administration, not the Eisenhower Administration, that the Soviet Union moved into the Middle East. When this Administration came into office Soviet agents had penetrated Iran to such an extent that the hope of saving Iran for the Free World seemed remote. But it was saved and Soviet influence was eliminated.

The rest of Mr. Stevenson's account of affairs in the Middle East is equally inaccurate. First, he has charged this Administration with refusal to give any guarantee to Israel. Here he ignores completely two clear facts: 1. The maintenance of the independence of Israel has been and remains a fundamental matter of United States policy under this, as under the preceding administration. 2. The Eisenhower Administration has repeatedly reaffirmed its adherence to the 1950 agreement with Great Britain and France which obligated the signers to come to the assistance of Israel as well as Israel's neighbors in case of unprovoked aggression.

With similar disregard for the facts, Mr. Stevenson has charged our government with "trying to build up" the power of Colonel Nasser in Egypt. That statement is simply untrue. Our own concern has been to maintain such relations with the government of Egypt as would allow us to use all possible influence in the interest of maintaining peace and stability in the Middle East.

Mr. Stevenson's statement is based on a number of surprising contradictions. For example, he at one and the same time criticizes us for building up the power of Colonel Nasser -- then deplores our failure to supply arms to Colonel Nasser. And next -- while deplored our relations with Colonel Nasser and the Egyptian government, Mr. Stevenson attacks us for encouraging a Baghdad pact because it was "particularly offensive to Nasser."

Other charges Mr. Stevenson made are so ridiculous that they are hardly worthy of reply. For example, he charges that the United States pressured the British to evacuate their great military base along the Suez Canal; and that the President has kept the facts with regard to the Middle East from the American people. These are simply the wild swings of a desperate man who knows he is going down to certain defeat. All they prove is that Mr. Stevenson lacks the basic statesmanship which a President of the United States needs in this critical period.

I again say that Mr. Stevenson should tell the United States and the world what he believes we should do now that we are not doing. He proved again in his statement that he is an expert only

on "how not to do it." These are days in which the President of the United States must make great decisions. That is why President Eisenhower, a man of decision, rather than Mr. Stevenson, a man of indecision, is the leader America and the Free World needs.

There are those who suggest that the President is taking a political risk by opposing the use of force in the Middle East. But I say that this is the time when American security must be placed above any political considerations. Americans are for peace and against aggression. We are for the independence and sovereignty of all nations no matter how small or how weak. We are for the right of all men to be free. As long as our policies are based on this solid foundation we have the best chance to keep our freedom without war.

DEMOCRATS

These are the final major speeches and statements of Democratic campaigners before the Nov. 6 election:

ADLAI STEVENSON

Following is a partial text of an Oct. 29 statement by Stevenson on President Eisenhower's H-bomb memorandum:

Several days ago President Eisenhower submitted to the public a statement on the H-bomb, containing reasons why, in his opinion, test explosions should not be discontinued. In order to help the public get at the truth of this controversy between the President and myself, I am herewith making public a memorandum which examines in detail Mr. Eisenhower's claims and the evidence he advances to support them.

The reason that the Administration's efforts to obtain general disarmament have all founded has been the Soviet rejection of a system of adequate inspection. Yet, as this record shows, the Administration has repeatedly refused the opportunity to take a concrete step towards disarmament in the one area where inspection is automatic -- the explosions of large nuclear weapons.

The President, it appears, offers no solution to the disarmament stalemate. For so long as this stalemate persists, what can we expect of the future? With no restrictions upon the testing of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the atomic monopoly is now possessed by three nations -- the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain. Mr. Stassen, President Eisenhower's disarmament adviser, said five months ago that within a year the secret of making the hydrogen bomb would spread all around the world.

But once the possession of these bombs spreads to other countries, which is unlikely for technical reasons if testing is prohibited, the danger of their aggressive utilization will have increased many fold. Once the bomb is possessed by countries in addition to the present three, the problem of its control will have become infinitely more difficult. And once the bomb is in the possession of a number of nations all wantonly shooting poison into the atmosphere, the danger of impairing or destroying human life through bomb explosions is enormously increased.

With a sense of urgency impelled by these considerations, I proposed a halt to the tests of large hydrogen weapons. Under that proposal, the stopping of these tests would have the following results:

1. It would greatly delay if not render it impossible for any nation not now producing bombs to make such bombs.
2. It would end or greatly diminish the rate of cumulative pollution of the atmosphere that is a real and present danger to the health of men, women and children now living -- as well as future generations.
3. It would break the disarmament stalemate that now exists. It would be a concrete step toward ending the arms race in the one area where headway can be made because we can detect violations at once.

The Administration's statement either ignores or distorts these propositions. To support its position, the Administration marshals a confusion of omissions and misstatements, as the following point-by-point analysis of the key points of the white paper makes clear.

The President's memorandum is misleading in implying that we must necessarily continue to explode nuclear weapons in order to maintain our "superiority" in those weapons. To the extent the United States, by agreeing to stop large H-bomb explosions, would affect its progress in the development of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union would also affect its own progress. To the extent that we have "superiority" -- or as it is expressed elsewhere in the President's statement, a "commanding lead" -- we would safeguard that superiority, that lead, by reducing the chances of a Russian technical break-through that might assist them to close the gap.

I repeat again that an agreement to end explosions of large H-bombs should not apply to the testing of smaller nuclear weapons; the United States, as well as other powers, would be free to go forward with such tests.

Scientists emphasize that no one knows with certainty whether the present rate of H-bomb testing will or will not produce significant damage to millions of people alive today. This is true especially of children; as they mature, the calcium that goes into building up their bones will be contaminated with the fallout of strontium-90 from H-bomb tests.

Obviously, the President's statement greatly exaggerates the degree of certainty that is possible on the basis of present scientific knowledge. In addition, in relating its comments to the present rate of H-bomb testing, it gives a wholly false picture of the dangers from strontium-90 fallout.

On Thursday of last week, members of the AEC research project at the University of Rochester Medical Center in New York declared President Eisenhower's defense of further H-bomb tests was "confused" and represented an "oversimplification" of the facts of life on the fallout.

RADIATION EXPOSURE

The President said the National Academy of Sciences June radiation report declares: "...That the radiation exposure from all weapons tests to date -- and from continuing tests at the same rate -- is, and would be, only a small fraction of the exposure that individuals receive from natural sources and from medical X-rays during their lives." Actually, the Rochester scientists declared: "The National Academy of Sciences' report does not say that the levels likely to be reached, if bomb testing continues, are safe... there is good reason to fear they may not be safe."

But apart from the fact that the rate of testing will certainly increase, the Administration's optimism is misleading for another reason -- the supposition that strontium-90 is absorbed uniformly among human beings. This is not true. From the Atomic Energy Commission's own measurements, the people of certain areas where the soil is low in calcium are absorbing a concentration of strontium-90 that is five times above the average. Even if further tests were discontinued people in those areas would be subjected to radiation from strontium-90 that would exceed by several times their absorption from natural sources.

I repeat that the President's memorandum fails entirely to point out that when it compares the dangers of radioactive fallout from H-bomb tests to the exposure from medical X-rays or from natural sources, it is basing its assertion exclusively on a report of the National Academy's Committee on Genetic Effects of Atomic Radiation. This has nothing to do with the really serious danger -- the pathological damage from strontium-90 fallout. The President's memorandum leaves out the most important point: Pathological damage. Scientists agree that the genetic damage from bomb-tests is of relatively minor concern compared with the pathological damage from strontium-90, which as has been previously pointed out, is assimilated into the bones, particularly of children, and which can produce blood changes and cause blood cancer. The fact is that the amount of radioactive fallout from a single large explosion has been and can be as much as that from 1,000 smaller bombs of the Hiroshima size. Essentially all the strontium-90 in the stratosphere comes from H-bombs.

As to the assertion that an agreement to stop H-bomb tests would allow for "no safeguards, no control, no inspection" the President again disregards the key fact that violations of such an agreement can no more be hidden than an earthquake.

I repeat again for the dozenth time that I have never proposed the prohibition of tests of other than large H-bombs. President

Eisenhower himself stated categorically on October 5. "Tests of large weapons, by any nation, may be detected when they occur." The President repeated this statement in substance in his October 23 paper. Therefore, there is no difference of view as to the detectability of the kind of bomb included in my proposal. We will know if the Russians explode a big H-bomb, and the world will know it too.

Middle East

Following is a partial text of a Nov. 1 speech by Stevenson on the Middle East crisis:

The condition which confronts us is stark and simple -- our Middle Eastern policy is at absolute dead end. And the hostilities going on tonight in which Israel, Egypt, Britain and France are involved reflects the bankruptcy of our policy; and they have given the Soviet Union two great victories. The first Communist victory is the establishment in the Middle East of the Russian influence which the czars sought in vain for centuries and which Communists have now achieved in a few months. The second Communist victory is the breakdown of the Western alliance. This has been a supreme objective of Soviet policy since the end of the Second World War. As the climax, the United States finds itself arrayed in the United Nations with Soviet Russia and the dictator of Egypt against the democracies of Britain, France and Israel.

I have three points to make tonight. The first is that this series of failures could have been averted -- that they were in great part the result of ill-considered and mistaken policies of this administration. The second is that this Administration not only made mistake after mistake in its Middle Eastern policy, but has withheld the consequences from the American people. The third is that there are many things which might have been done in the last year to avert war in the Middle East.

When President Eisenhower came to office in January, 1953, Communist influence in the Middle East was at a low ebb, and the area was more free of violence than it had been in years. Secretary of State Dulles began by giving Gen. Naguib -- Col. Nasser's predecessor -- a pistol as a personal gift from President Eisenhower. The fateful symbolism of this gift was not lost upon Israel or the Arab states. It was a token of a new policy called "impartiality" between the Arab states, on the one hand, and, on the other, the new democracy of Israel whom they had vowed to destroy and whom we and the United Nations were pledged to defend.

SUEZ EVACUATION

Following this, and pursuing the new policy of trying to build up Nasser as a bulwark of stability in the Middle East, the United States pressured the British to evacuate their great military base along the Suez Canal without making any provision for international control of the canal. Then Mr. Dulles fanned the flames of ambition, nationalism and rivalry in the Middle East with the so-called Baghdad pact as a defense against Russia. But its military advantages were far out-weighed by its political disadvantages. And it was particularly offensive to Nasser -- the very man whom we had been trying to build up.

Then in 1955 Col. Nasser's negotiations for some arms from the United States bogged down in everlasting haggling. And so he negotiated an arms deal with the Communists. We not only failed to stop the introduction of Communist arms into the Middle East, but we refused to assist Israel with arms too. We also refused to give Israel a guarantee of her integrity, although we had given such guarantees to others. And in the meantime, we dangled before Col. Nasser the prospect of financial aid for building a great dam on the Nile.

In time, the bankruptcy of the Eisenhower administration's policy began to become evident even to Mr. Dulles. It became clear that Col. Nasser was not a bulwark of stability but a threat to peace in the Middle East. Thereupon President Eisenhower abruptly and publicly withdrew the aid he had led Col. Nasser to expect. As anyone could have foreseen, Col. Nasser promptly retaliated by seizing the Suez Canal.

Driven by our policy into isolation and desperation, Israel evidently became convinced that the only hope remaining was to attack Egypt before Egypt attacked her. So she took her tragic decision.

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Here we stand today. We have alienated our chief European allies. We have alienated Israel. We have alienated Egypt and the Arab countries. And in the U.N., our main associate in Middle Eastern matters now appears to be Communist Russia -- in the very week when the Red army has been shooting down the brave people of Hungary and Poland. We have lost every point in the game. I doubt if ever before in our diplomatic history has any policy been such an abysmal, such a complete and such a catastrophic failure.

It is bad enough to be responsible for such a disastrous policy. I think it is almost worse in a democracy to try and conceal the truth from the people. But this is what the Eisenhower Administration has done systematically with regard to the situation in the Middle East.

It was only a few days ago -- on Oct. 12 -- that President Eisenhower himself said in a political telecast: "I've got the best announcement that I think I can possibly make to America tonight. The progress made in the settlement of the Suez dispute this afternoon at the United Nations, is most gratifying. ...It looks like there's a very great crisis that's behind us."

And only last Sunday -- just four days ago -- Mr. Dulles said in a television interview that the United States, Britain and France "have developed a common policy and I think it's amazing the degree to which we have had a common policy...and the fact that there are certain minor superficial difficulties as to details about just how you handle tolls or how much is going to get paid to Egypt and how much isn't doesn't detract from the fact that we have a common policy." The "superficial difficulties" of Sunday became pretty formidable by Tuesday, when Britain and France broke with the United States in the U.N.

MISTAKEN POLICIES

This is but a brief summary of this sorry chapter, but I think it demonstrates that the Middle Eastern policy of our government in Washington was blundering and mistaken, and that it has compounded its blunders by a consistent policy of misleading the American people into believing that all was well in the world. But the question now is what to do about it.

It appears that President Eisenhower is now approaching this problem by trying very properly to check military action. But this will only restore the situation that existed up until four days ago. I say this betrays a complete lack of understanding of the crisis. The situation of four days ago was one when events were threatening strangulation of our European allies, the destruction of Israel, and increasing control of the Middle East by Communist Russia. Just to restore that situation would be another set-back for the West.

I would not condone the use of force, even by our friends and allies. But I say that we now have an opportunity to use our great potential moral authority, our own statesmanship, the weight of our economic power, to bring about solutions to the whole range of complex problems confronting the free world in the Middle East. The time has come to wipe the slate clean and begin anew. We must, for a change, be honest with ourselves and honest with the rest of the world. The search for peace demands the best that is in us. The time is now. We can no longer escape the challenge of history.

Michigan Speech

Following is a partial text of a Nov. 2 speech by Stevenson at Detroit, Mich.:

Last night the President made another speech on the Middle East. And let's get one thing clear right away. The President went on a paid political broadcast two or three weeks ago to talk about good news from Suez. Now that his policy has ended in failure, he wants to silence discussion.

It is all very well to talk about principle as the President did last night. But to talk of principle is one thing -- and to play fast and loose in our international dealings is another.

The Administration first offered and then refused to help Egypt with the Aswan Dam. It refused to send Israel defensive arms but encouraged others to do so. It came forward with one proposal after another in the dispute over the Suez Canal but never really

committed itself to stand firm on anything. And it acquired for itself in these and similar incidents a reputation for unreliability -- which is about as damaging a reputation as a great power can have.

And, unhappily, the illustrations of principle in words and opportunism in action could be multiplied. The trouble is precisely that our present policy in the Middle East has totally lacked principle! And it has led directly to the present catastrophe in the Middle East and the breakdown of the Western alliance.

The question now is: Where do we go from here? As I said in a wire to the President Wednesday night, I see nothing in this situation warranting any involvement of our armed forces. And I was relieved that this is the present position of the President. Nor is there any disagreement on making the fullest possible use of the United Nations in seeking a settlement.

But even if all forces are withdrawn, pursuant to the resolution of the United Nations, it would still be not a settlement at all, but only a return to the previous situation -- which was dangerous and unsatisfactory. The President has not a word to say about the basis on which any real settlement can be reached.

We badly need to get down to fundamentals. The first is that whatever the provocation, aggression can no longer be tolerated in the atomic age. This has been our position always. We welcome the U.N. resolution as expressing the sense of the world community on this point and we all hope that a cease-fire can be promptly arranged. This is but the first step.

The next is to restore the sense of unified purpose among the free nations and rebuild the grand alliance upon which the fate of all free men depends. Then, in concert with our friends, both European and non-European, we must forge a common policy for the Middle East.

First security must be restored along the frontiers dividing Israel from her neighbors.

Second, we should insist that passage of ships through the Suez Canal is a matter of international concern and that no single country and especially no single man can wilfully sever the lifeline of Europe and Asia.

Third, we must launch an all-out attack in concert with like-minded nations on the problem of resettling the 900,000 Arab refugees who now live in misery and hopelessness.

Fourth, we must, in concert with other nations, present a program to improve economic conditions in the Middle East for the benefit of the people, and not just to serve political interests.

And above all, we must restore to our foreign policy a sense of human concern. We cannot win unless we have the people on our side; and an Administration which is indifferent to the people at home will never gain the confidence or inspire the loyalties of distant peoples. It will never understand the origins and meaning of the great revolution of rising expectations that is sweeping the world.

QUESTION FROM MIDDLE EAST

One question which arises irresistibly out of the Middle Eastern crisis is this: has the President of the United States really been in charge of our foreign policy? Only a few days ago, the President told the American people that he had good news from Suez. Today there is war in the Middle East.

Only a few days ago, the President told the American people that he knew of no disagreements with our European allies; Secretary Dulles, he said, had assured him that everything was fine. Today the Soviet Union has achieved a major victory by splitting the coalition of free nations; and we find ourselves in bed with Communist Russia and the dictator of Egypt.

Did the President of the United States know what was going on? I choose to think he didn't mislead us deliberately, that he didn't know, and that someone had misled him. It's the same old pattern -- and we know it in domestic policy just as much as in foreign policy. And it illustrates one of the main issues in this campaign: The Republicans are asking the nation to choose one man as President so that a lot of other men, whom the people have not chosen, can run the country.

And above all, we must be clear that the country does not endorse the Republican candidate's choice for his heir apparent. For, if there is one thing certain about what happens on Tuesday, it is this: You can't have Eisenhower without Nixon.

A second term would, of course, mean years of waning political power for Mr. Eisenhower himself. His one great hold on the Re-

publican politicians -- the prospect of his candidacy for reelection would be gone. And, while these four years would be years where Mr. Eisenhower would be even less active and exert even less power than in his first term, they would be years of growing power for the Vice President.

And I ask you point-blank -- for this is the question that counts -- whether you are prepared to entrust the hard decisions of war and peace, the terrible question of the hydrogen bomb and all the other matters which may decide the future of our children and of civilization itself -- I ask you whether you are prepared to entrust these decisions to Richard M. Nixon.

Next Tuesday will be a serious day for every American. When you step out of the voting booth, you will have said your last say about who is to run your government for the next four years. So think about the men and the measures you are asked to ratify and approve by your vote -- our failures abroad, our paralysis at home, and the men who will manage your affairs.

And think, too, about the kind of America we want. I say we do not want an America suspicious and fearful. We want a free and open America, where men can speak their minds without looking over their shoulders and go their way without regard to their race and color and live in dignity and self-respect. The spirit of the Democratic party -- the spirit of decency and compassion and justice -- can give us the new America.

And it can help us along the road to a new world -- a world in which America commands the respect and deserves the confidence of peoples everywhere, and leads the way to lasting peace.

Natural Resources

Following is a partial text of a Nov. 3 statement by Stevenson on natural resources policy:

The most obvious and distressing evidence of the failure of the Eisenhower Administration to care for the public good is its giving away parts of the public domain to private interests: letting great natural sites for multi-purpose public projects be exploited for private gain; repudiating public power projects; urging legislation that would transfer private rights in national forests to a privileged few; granting mining claims on public property to private exploitation, as in the Al Sarena hoax; allowing federal wildlife refuges to be invaded by hundreds of oil leases; encouraging legislation that would dispose of timber stands in our national parks and forests.

Behind this sorry record of give-aways is a still more devastating series of acts that jettison valuable and established policies, and even abandon the 50-year-old bi-partisan conservation policy. The Eisenhower Administration replaced professionally trained career leadership of federal conservation agencies with unqualified political appointees. They appointed enemies of conservation to key resource posts, both in action agencies and regulatory commissions. They dismembered the regional action program of the Soil Conservation Service. They attacked the farmer-owned REA co-operatives and municipally-owned utilities. They hit the TVA by reducing its appropriation and by trying to undercut it in the devious Dixon-Yates affair...

This businessman's administration failed to provide -- for our country -- the same prudent planning for tomorrow's needs that any competent business would inevitably provide for itself. The Eisenhower administration abolished the National Security Resources Board, and did not create any agency that would do what it had done, that is, to make continuing and systematic surveys of our Nation's resource needs. The administration almost completely ignored the excellent report made by the non-partisan Materials Policy Commission, headed by William S. Paley. Many of the Administration's acts even fly directly in the face of the careful recommendations of that commission's thoughtful survey...

We must, for example, have a new, and broader, conservation policy.... The first principle of our policy will be a vigorous reaffirmation of the important responsibilities of the federal government for the nation's resources. The planning, construction and operation of comprehensive resource programs is a proper and legal, as well as a most necessary, function of the federal government...

From an economic and engineering point of view the federal government can and should assume the leadership in the task of harnessing our interstate river system for power, flood control, navigation, water supply, irrigation, recreation, pollution control and for nurturing fish and wildlife.

We must increase the investment in our natural resources. It is folly to cut these investments. Yet President Eisenhower reduced them by 20-30 percent even as the nation's income rose by 20 percent. At the very least our investment in natural resources should match our growth of national income....

The new America must have strong material underpinning. Foremost among the requirements are increasing supplies of water and energy -- particularly electric power. Comprehensive development of our river basins will provide the maximum available supplies of both water and hydro-electric power....

There are no easy solutions to the complicated problems of assuring ample supplies of water for the new America. But it is clear that the problems can be solved by full co-operation of local governments, joint water districts, industrial water users, and the federal government....

The New Deal power program has been of great benefit to the American people and must continue. But we must go forward. Building on the proven policies of the past, we can devise a policy under which federal river-basin systems, privately owned power companies, federal and private atomic plants, state and municipal electric systems, and rural electric co-operatives can cooperate in assuring an abundance of the lowest-cost electricity....

This step forward would include:

The expediting of federal development of hydro-electric power through comprehensive river-basin progress;

Continued expansion of TVA power supply, including steam generation;

Federal construction of large demonstration atomic power plants;

A continuance of the preference to public bodies and cooperatives in the marketing of power from federal projects;

Legislation providing for authorization and regulation of regional wholesale power pools, whether publicly or privately or cooperatively formed or with mixed ownership.

LEAD IN ATOM DEVELOPMENT

I believe that the Federal Government must take the lead in the development of atomic power -- not surrender its rights to private enterprise...the current policy of leaving development to private utilities has resulted in our falling way behind other nations....

With a vigorous program of federal demonstration plants, coupled with the projects of the utilities, American industry can move ahead rapidly to develop low-cost atomic power, compete successfully in the world markets, and demonstrate our international leadership in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. At home, the American people will reap more quickly the benefit of a great new source of low-cost energy....

The federal power program has been a curb on private monopoly in the all-important field of the nation's power supply. The Eisenhower Administration has undermined the preference right of municipalities to federal power. Enforcement of the preference clause and the Public Utility Holding Act should be the two keystones of a federal public utility policy.

I propose that the federal government organize and support generously a comprehensive program of scientific research in this area of technological development of minerals. The results of such research should be freely available to all.

Our international economic policy must insure a steady and adequate flow of raw materials from abroad....

The overall effects of such policies would be to increase quantity and reduce costs of foreign supplies; to postpone exhaustion of domestic resources; to avoid excessive costs of marginal subsidized home production; and to strengthen both our own economy and those of other nations with which we trade.

Since our situation, whether we like it or not, is one of the actual dependence on other countries for some of our most vital raw materials and minerals, it is imperative that the policies we adopt will make this interdependency mutually advantageous for all concerned.

The so-called renewable resources, such as our forests, do not renew themselves automatically. We must intensify the management of our public forests -- national, state and local -- through the building of adequate access roads and application of more intensive forest practices....

More intensive efforts are needed to improve our forest water-

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shed management to reduce floods and provide dependable water supplies....

Our generation has witnessed a revolution in farm technology which has made the efforts of the man on the land more productive. But the gains we have made are overshadowed by a paradoxical situation -- want in the midst of plenty. There should be no problem as long as great numbers of people in the world today are undernourished....

The existence of these so-called surpluses tends to hide that which we cannot forget: Our population and the population of the world continues to increase. We can support a larger population in the United States on the current level of diet if we can continue to make the same kind of gains in agriculture technology in the future that we have made in the past. Continued progress along these lines will help to offset the loss of land to non-farm uses. This loss has reached an annual total of more than one million acres and will probably increase in the future....

For 50 years the federal government has pursued a bipartisan policy of treating irrigation and power as partners in the development of the West. The future of irrigation in the West depends upon the continuation of this policy which is being effectively blocked by the Eisenhower administration giving away of power sites....

Wherever practicable we should adopt the principle of basin-wide pooled accounting as a logical extension of the nation's 50-year-old reclamation policy....

The overwhelming proportion of public lands are available for outdoor recreation, but an accelerated access and facilities program is essential for their full enjoyment. The needs are substantial and growing....

The Administration has prided itself on its Mission 66 program, a 10-year, \$785 million plan for our national parks. But this program is long on propaganda and short on action....

OUTLINES PROGRAM

This then is our program:

To reverse the retreat of the Eisenhower Administration in almost every area of resource policy.

To return to the forward march of comprehensive multi-purpose developments for our river basins.

To move forcefully ahead, under federal leadership, in the development of atomic power.

To develop more and cheaper power.

To assure abundant supplies of low-cost power available to all consumers.

To bring a long-range forestry program to assure adequate supplies of timber at reasonable prices.

To continue our irrigation policy.

To expand our recreational facilities to match the expanding need.

To protect our wildlife.

To renew our program of soil conservation.

To achieve a well rounded mineral policy program inclusive of many of the recommendations of the Paley Commission; notably to advance research in new materials and to reduce waste, to pursue trade policies that will bring us needed materials from abroad.

In 1908, the Republican President Roosevelt opened America's first conservation conference by warning that "the natural resources of our country are in danger of exhaustion." It is time to call another conference, for the last half of this century -- a national conservation conference for the new America.

Stevenson's Final Speech

Following is a partial text of a Nov. 5 speech by Stevenson at Boston, Mass.:

We are surely a good and strong people, of that I am sure. We are a people who combine generosity and idealism with a practical, down-to-earth realism that we learned the hard way, as we pushed back the harsh frontiers of nature and science and politics. Ours have been the legendary broad shoulders of Paul Bunyan and the restless seeking mind of Thomas Edison and the great heart of Abraham Lincoln. We Americans are Tom Sawyer and Justice Holmes and Jackie Robinson; in our best dreams we are carefree wanderers and noble thinkers and men who can drive in runs when they're needed.

We in the Democratic party think there is nothing we cannot do if we want to do it. The Democratic party believes we have not yet finished making our country, that we still have important work to do.

We of the Democratic party think of "the people" as living human beings, one by one by one, individuals with differing ways and talents and hopes, each worth in himself the whole weight of government.

We Democrats see in "the people" the strong young man at the loom or the press or the drill in the clatter of earning a wage, and we want for that young man fair work laws and a steady job and pride in what he does. Or we see the grandmother with a broken hip or a heart attack or cancer, sitting in the sun on the porch in the thin workless evening of life, and for her we want a security and medical care and some kind of bulwark against loneliness.

Or we see the mother pushing a wire cart in the grocery store, anxious whether she can buy enough for her children yet not too much for the family budget, and for this mother we want prices within reach and a good life of her own and high hopes for her kids. We Democrats see the slum-dweller, the workman living in the shadow of automation, the teen-ager trying to find a moral footing -- and we look for ways to help them all.

Yet today, America's foreign policy, our policy for peace, is in disarray in all parts of the world. Our alliances are unraveling; NATO is disintegrating, neutralism is spreading, we are helpless in Hungary's agony. Our policy in Asia is rigid, militaristic and unresponsive to the great revolution where hunger is spreading and envy is rising.

Our policy in the Middle East is in ruins, and has furthered the Soviet design to penetrate this strategic area, to the great damage of the cause of freedom. Israel, surrounded by enemies growing stronger with Russian arms, has lashed out in desperation, and, worst of all, Britain and France are going in one direction and we are going in another -- in the same direction as the Communists.

CULMINATION OF POLICY

And tonight we have seen the culmination of the disastrous Eisenhower foreign policy in the Middle East -- with the Communists now proposing that we go to war with them against Britain and France! We regret what our friends have done. We do not condone the use of force. And, as I wired the President last Wednesday, there is no reason for the involvement of America's military forces in this area. But the need for some positive leadership is desperate everywhere. I see no hope that the Republican party can retrieve the tragic situation abroad. It is split internally -- as it has been since the fight over the League of Nations; and a divided party cannot regain the confidence of our allies or rebuild the coalition on which our strength and security depend.

Worst of all, this Republican Administration has not taken the American people into its confidence. Either it hasn't known what is going on, which seems incredible, or it has misled us time and again, step by step, from President Eisenhower's inaugural statement about unleashing Chiang Kai-shek to recapture China, to his statement a few days ago that he had good news from Suez and that there was no trouble with our allies.

And now we have seen in this campaign a refusal on the part of the Republican candidates even to talk seriously about the great problems of the world. Constructive proposals have been dismissed with scorn and epithet.

And now one other matter. Our choice tomorrow will not be of a President for tomorrow. It will be of the man -- or men -- who will serve you as President for the next four years. And distasteful as this matter is, I must say bluntly that every piece of scientific evidence we have, every lesson of history and experience, indicates that a Republican victory tomorrow would mean that Richard M. Nixon would probably be President of this country within the next four years.

I say frankly, as a citizen more than candidate, that I recoil at the prospect of Mr. Nixon as custodian of this nation's future, as guardian of the hydrogen bomb, as representative of America in the world, as commander-in-chief of the United States armed forces. Distasteful as it is, this is the truth, the central truth, about the most fateful decision the American people have to make tomorrow. I have full confidence in that decision.

Pressures On Congress

Ask Israel Appraisal

Sixteen organizations Oct. 31 urged the U.S. government to make a "fresh appraisal" of the Middle East conflict. The groups said the conflict "is not simply between Egypt and Israel, but between democracy and an expansionist dictatorship, between the free world and Nasserism backed by Moscow."

Urging the action were: American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, American Trades Union Council for Labor Israel, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S., Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, Women's Zionists Organization of America, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jewish Labor Committee, Mizrachi Organization of America, B'nai B'rith, American Zionist Council, Zionist Organization of America, United Synagogue of America, Labor Zionist Organization of America, National Community Relations Advisory Council.

H-Bomb Tests

The Republican National Committee Oct. 31 said 44 past national commanders of veterans' organizations called for continued H-bomb tests "until a plan of enforceable inspection and control is adopted by all nations." The Committee said past national commanders representing the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, American Veterans of World War II and the Korean War, Military Order of the World Wars and United Spanish War Veterans also favored continuance of the draft.

The American Veterans Committee Oct. 30 said "a survey of veterans throughout the nation during the last two weeks...found overwhelming interest and concern in the proposal to ban H-bomb testing." The AVC said results of the survey "do not bear out recent announcements by some heads of veterans' organizations that veterans want the testing to continue."

Pressure Points

SMALL BUSINESS AID

The Public Affairs Institute Oct. 30 said "a weakening of consumer goods demand and a decline in new orders in the face of the unabated expansion programs of the nation's giant corporations foretell a fierce competitive struggle and a crisis of unparalleled proportions." In an 81-page report titled Small Business at the Crossroads, the Institute urged the 85th Congress to devote "top priority to speedy relief for small business firms." It said since 1953 government policies "have contributed to what now looms as a dangerous decline in the relative position of small business in the economic picture."

INTEGRATION IN SOUTH

A new Fund for the Republic report released Oct. 29 said there is "no longer a Solid South of Segregation." The report, titled Integration: North and South, said there

have been 1,100 instances of desegregation in schooling, housing, transportation, employment and public accommodations in the South. The report said in non-Southern states "remaining racial segregation and discrimination is not only being reduced steadily but also that Negro citizens are obtaining positions of leadership in all walks of life."

WARNS INSURANCE BROKERS

Ray Murphy, general counsel of the Assn. of Casualty and Surety Companies, Oct. 24 said the insurance industry is a "favorite target" for legislative action. Murphy said the industry "must resist to the utmost, unfriendly legislation," if it is to survive and if it is to continue serving the best interests of the public. Addressing the annual dinner of the General Insurance Brokers' Assn. of New York, Murphy said in 1955 state, territorial and the national legislatures introduced 82,400 bills and that more than "9,000 of these bills were found to affect casualty and surety insurance.... These figures point up the need for constant awareness and vigilance if this great business is not to be injured materially."

HITS HIGH SUPPORTS

Roger Fleming, secretary-treasurer of the American Farm Bureau Federation, Oct. 30 said some bankers "are trying to promote high price supports because they believe this will safeguard their interest in farm loans." Speaking at the annual meeting of the Associated Industries of Missouri in St. Louis, Fleming said high farm price supports will only build up crop surpluses and cut sales abroad.

DISTRIBUTES FARM BOOKS

The Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation Oct. 26 said it was mailing to some rural mail box users a 24-page illustrated condensation of a new book by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, as a public service. The tax-exempt foundation is also hoping to mail out 700,000 copies of the complete book Farmers at the Crossroads. Edward A. Rumely, executive secretary of the group, said the book was "a factual statement of the nation's farm problem -- a statement of material that people must have if they are to find a solution." He said "the foundation went over the book most carefully and decided to put it out as a public service. There is not a word of Republicanism in it. The foundation would not put out a political book."

TVA GROUP HITS GOP

The Citizens for the Tennessee Valley Authority Nov. 2 said since June, 1953, the Eisenhower Administration "has refused every request of TVA for funds for additional power capacity and has reduced every single item in every single budget submitted to the Budget Bureau by the TVA." In a report issued by the Citizens' group it said TVA appropriations have fallen "from a figure of more than \$350 million in the 1953 budget...to a 'minuscule' \$5.3 million in the 1957 budget."

HOW LOBBIES FARED IN 84th CONGRESS

Intensive lobby activity shaped key decisions during the second session of the 84th Congress and offered a preview of the pressure drives expected in the 85th Congress.

Major lobby drives were set in motion when Congress considered natural gas, farm price supports, veterans' pensions, highways, power, housing, school aid and social security legislation. Many will be lobby issues again in 1957.

Lobby efforts in favor of passage of farm legislation, the Colorado Reclamation Project, social security, highways and housing were successful, at least for the time being, when legislation was enacted. But some groups were dissatisfied with the measures and may press for revision.

Unsuccessful lobby fights on natural gas, school aid, postal pay rates and power disputes portend intense pressures on these issues in 1957.

Congressional Quarterly's annual lobby roundup tells what the lobbies wanted and what they got on major issues in the second session of the 84th Congress:

Natural Gas

Biggest lobby battle in 1956 was over HR 6645, a bill to exempt gatherers and producers of natural gas from federal public utility regulation.

Final consideration of the bill was overshadowed by a Feb. 3 announcement by Sen. Francis Case (R S.D.) that he had rejected a \$2,500 campaign contribution from John M. Neff, Lexington, Neb., lawyer interested in passage of HR 6645. The Senate Feb. 7 set up a Select Committee, headed by Sen. Walter F. George (D Ga.), to investigate the contribution. On Feb. 22 the Senate established a Special Committee to Investigate Political Activities, Lobbying and Campaign Contributions. The Committee, headed by Sen. John L. McClellan (D Ark.), began hearings May 1. (See p. 683)

WHAT PRO-REGULATION LOBBIES WANTED -- The Mayors' Committee on Natural Gas urged Congress to continue federal control of natural gas sales in interstate commerce. In Washington, the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, Council of Local Gas Companies, National Farmers Union and the United Automobile Workers (AFL-CIO) supported federal regulation. All argued that a release from government control would mean an increase in the price of natural gas for the consumer.

WHAT ANTI-REGULATION LOBBIES WANTED -- Favoring passage of the bill were the General Gas Committee, Natural Gas and Oil Resources Committee and Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Assn. They represented oil and gas interests. A mayors' group

was formed in opposition to the pro-regulation Mayors' Committee by former Mayor Alex M. Clark of Indianapolis. It called itself the Joint Committee of Consumers and Producers of Natural Gas. Anti-regulation groups argued that because of the "hazardous" nature of gas exploration and the "vigorously competitive" market, federal regulation would result in "diminished supplies" of natural gas at higher prices.

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- The House in 1955 passed a bill (HR 6645) to exempt independent producers of natural gas from federal utility-rate control. The Senate Feb. 6 passed and sent the bill to the President. President Eisenhower Feb. 17 vetoed the bill. He said "since the passage of this bill, a body of evidence has accumulated indicating that private persons, apparently representing only a very small segment of a great and vital industry, have been seeking to further their own interest by highly questionable activities." (See p. 199)

Price Supports

WHAT FLEXIBLE SUPPORT LOBBIES WANTED -- The American Farm Bureau Federation made a determined stand in support of the flexible farm price support program enacted by the 83rd Congress. Assisted by some farm commodity and business groups, the Federation argued that farmer income would be maintained at the "highest possible" levels if the price system were permitted to serve as the main balance wheel between supply and demand. It also argued that increased farm efficiency, lower costs and market expansion at home and abroad were the "sound" ways to stop the drop in net farm income which it attributed to rigid supports. The AFBF was-supported by the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. and the National Grange.

WHAT RIGID SUPPORT LOBBIES WANTED -- The National Farmers Union and a new group, the National Farmers' Organization, urged 100 percent of parity but supported legislation calling for 90 percent of parity rigidly fixed. The NFU said the flexible support program was a "serious mistake" and "unworkable by its very nature." It contended the farmer's position could not be improved "by cutting his prices and income."

WHAT OTHER FARM LOBBIES WANTED -- The National Milk Producers Federation said price supports for dairy products should be "not less than 80 percent of parity."

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- Congress passed a revised farm bill (HR 10875) setting up acreage and conservation reserves -- the soil bank program -- but did not include price supports. Earlier, the House refused to override (202-211) President Eisenhower's veto of a Democratic-sponsored farm measure (HR 12) which provided for a return to rigid 90 percent price supports. (See p. 461)

LOBBY SCORECARD								
Positions of Selected Organizations on Key Issues of 1956								
What Congress Did →	Five Issues Defeated					No Action Taken	Two Passed	
KEY ✓ -- For X -- Against	More Public Housing	Rigid Farm Price Supports	Federal Aid For School Construction	Federal Hells Canyon Dam	Veterans Pension Bill (b)	U.S. Membership In O.T.C.	Increased Highway Building	Exempt Nat- ural Gas Pro- ducers From Regulation (c)
BUSINESS GROUPS Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. National Assn. of Manufacturers	X	X	X	X		X(d)	✓ X	✓ ✓
LABOR AFL-CIO	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X
FARM GROUPS American Farm Bureau Federation National Farmers Union National Grange	✓	X ✓ X	X ✓ ✓	X ✓		✓ ✓ ✓	X ✓ ✓	✓ X
VETERANS GROUPS American Legion American Veterans Committee	✓		X ✓	✓	✓ X			
OTHER GROUPS Americans for Democratic Action Cooperative League on U.S.A. Friends Committee of National Legislation	✓ ✓	✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓		✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	X X
(a) Some groups qualified their stands (b) Compensation bill for service-connected disabled was passed. (c) President Eisenhower vetoed Natural Gas bill. (d) Chamber Members rejected resolution to support O.T.C.								
(Organizations selected took a position on two or more of the issues listed.)								

Federal Aid to Schools

WHAT SCHOOL LOBBIES WANTED -- A coalition of national organizations pooled resources and influence in a drive for a federal aid to school construction program. Leading school groups, led by the National Education Assn. and the Council of Chief State School Officers, coordinated plans and worked closely with Congressional committees. Support for the educators' program came from such groups as the AFL-CIO, National Farmers Union, American Assn. of University Women and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. They argued that the existing shortage of at least 340,000 classrooms, coupled with sub-standard school buildings and the short supply of teachers, made increased federal aid mandatory.

WHAT OTHER LOBBIES WANTED -- The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People said that anti-segregation provisions should be incorporated in any school aid proposal. The National Assn. of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. opposed federal aid provisions of school bills. The Council of State Chambers of Commerce as well as the U.S. Chamber took the position that school construction needs could be met fully at the state and local levels without federal aid.

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- The House rejected a Democratic-backed measure (HR 7535) to provide \$1.6 billion in

grants over a four-year period. Earlier the House adopted a controversial amendment to bar aid to states with segregated schools. It also rejected an amendment to substitute an Administration bill providing that aid be distributed to the states according to need. The Senate took no action. (See p. 801)

Hells Canyon

WHAT PUBLIC POWER LOBBIES WANTED -- Public power groups wanted the federal government to build a single, multi-purpose high dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River, about 90 miles north of Wieser, Idaho. These groups -- led by the National Hells Canyon Assn., National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn. and American Public Power Assn. -- argued that greater economic development would be possible with the high dam. The additional prosperity would pay off in more federal tax revenue, they said.

WHAT PRIVATE POWER LOBBIES WANTED -- The National Assn. of Electric Companies backed the Idaho Power Co.'s bid to build three small dams on the Snake River in place of the single federal dam. NAEC argued that the federal high dam would cost more and would have a poorer tax yield. Private interests also claimed Idaho Power's plan was in line with the Administration's "partnership" power policy.

Lobby Record - 3

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- The Senate defeated a bill (S 1333) to authorize construction, operation and maintenance of a single high federal dam at Hells Canyon. The House took no final action. (See p. 777)

Veterans' Pensions

WHAT THE AMERICAN LEGION WANTED -- The American Legion led the fight for a general pension plan to increase compensation payments to service-disabled veterans and for non-service-connected pensions. The Legion urged presumed disability for all veterans at age 65. Qualifying veterans would receive \$85 monthly before age 65 and \$105 monthly after age 65, providing their outside income did not exceed \$1,800 if they did not have dependents and \$3,000 a year if they did.

WHAT THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS WANTED -- The VFW supported Legion proposals for a general pension plan but hoped to limit presumed disability at age 65 to veterans of World War I. Qualifying veterans under the VFW plan would receive \$100 a month plus 20 percent for overseas service. Income limitations would be set at \$2,400 for veterans without dependents and \$3,600 for veterans with dependents.

WHAT OTHER VETERANS GROUPS WANTED -- The Disabled American Veterans, American Veterans of World War II and the Korean War and the American Veterans Committee opposed increases in non-service-connected pensions. The AMVETS and the DAV pushed for adoption of increased benefits for the service-connected disabled. Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas (USMC, ret.), DAV national commander, Feb. 29 said there was a limit on dollars this nation could spend on its veterans. "If we go into a general pension plan," he said, "It is going to have to be taken away from the service-connected disabled veterans or their widows or orphans." Rudolph G. Pesata, AMVETS national commander, June 18 said the Legion bill (HR 7886) had no chance of passage and urged the Legion to compromise on compensation increases.

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- The House passed a bill (HR 7886) to increase rates and liberalize the basis for payment of non-service-connected pensions. The Senate took no final action. The House later passed a bill (HR 12038) increasing service-connected disability compensation payments, but again the Senate took no action. (See p. 768)

Public Housing

WHAT PRO-PUBLIC HOUSING LOBBIES WANTED -- Requests that the housing bill include 200,000 units a year of public housing came from the National Housing Conference, the AFL-CIO and Americans for Democratic Action. Proponents of public housing said the Administration request for 35,000 units a year was inadequate to meet the needs of low-income families and elderly persons.

WHAT ANTI-PUBLIC HOUSING LOBBIES WANTED -- Opposition to any public housing program was led by the National Assn. of Real Estate Boards, National Assn. of Home Builders, Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. and the National Retail Lumber Dealers Assn. George W. West of the Chamber said additional public housing was not

necessary because of the tremendous surge of private home ownership since 1940. The NAREB said public housing was "inherently dangerous to our free society" and should be terminated.

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- Congress passed a bill (HR 11742) authorizing construction of 35,000 public housing units a year for two years for persons of low incomes, providing the municipality first had a "workable program" to get rid of slums. The plan would have to be approved by the Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator. Single elderly persons, 65 years of age or more, would get priority in admittance to public housing projects. (See p. 910)

Highways

Major lobbying activity surrounding the highway bill was centered on highway financing and whether or not the Davis-Bacon Act should apply to the highway program. The Davis-Bacon Act enables the federal government to set wage levels on federal projects.

FINANCING

WHAT HIGHWAY LOBBIES WANTED -- The American Automobile Assn. and the Assn. of American Railroads favored a sliding scale of tax increases on the basis of weight and mileage of vehicles. AAA contended that highways take more of a beating from trucks and heavy vehicles than from passenger cars. The American Trucking Assns. supported HR 9075, a highway finance bill, but the National Assn. of Motor Bus Operators and the National Tire Dealers and Retreaders Assn. said the proposed new taxes on tires and retread rubber would impose a burden on dealers and buses. The American Farm Bureau Federation opposed further federal spending for highways. It said the states "should continue to have the primary responsibility for financing highways." The National Assn. of Taxicab Owners and the American Taxicab Assn. said taxis should be exempt from increased taxes as they rarely use the national highway systems.

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- Congress passed the Highway Revenue Act (PL 627, 84th Congress) increasing gasoline, diesel and fuel taxes from 2 to 3 cents a gallon for vehicles registered for highway use, excluding local transit vehicles. Tire taxes were increased from 5 cents to 8 cents a pound. Manufacturers' taxes on trucks, buses and truck trailers were increased from 8 percent to 10 percent. A tax of \$1.50 a thousand pounds on trucks and buses weighing more than 26,000 pounds was included. (See p. 647)

DAVIS-BACON

WHAT PRO-DAVIS-BACON LOBBIES WANTED -- The four basic construction unions in January, 1955, formed the National Joint Heavy and Highway Construction Committee to press for the inclusion of the Davis-Bacon Act provision for wage fixing in the highway bill. Adoption of the provision, said the Committee, would not be an innovation since the government already determines prevailing wage rates under grants-in-aid and insured programs such as those for airports, schools, hospitals and housing. They argued that since the government would

pay 90 percent of the Interstate System construction costs, the government should set the prevailing wage.

WHAT ANTI-DAVIS-BACON ACT LOBBIES WANTED

-- The Associated General Contractors and the American Road Builders Assn. said the wage issue should be left to the states. The Contractors' group said inclusion of the Davis-Bacon provision would "unnecessarily increase the cost of highway construction" and could upset the economy of local communities. The Road Builders said the legislation was interfering with the rights of the states.

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- Congress passed the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 (PL 627, 84th Congress) which included the Davis-Bacon provision. The Secretary of Labor was directed, in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act and after consultation with state highway departments, to determine local prevailing wage rates to be paid workers employed on construction of the Interstate System. (See p. 647)

Organization For Trade Cooperation

WHAT PRO-OTC LOBBIES WANTED -- The Committee for a National Trade Policy and the Committee for Foreign Trade Education led the fight for Congressional authorization for United States entry into the Organization for Trade Cooperation. Supported by groups including Americans for Democratic Action, Committee for Economic Development, and the American Farm Bureau Federation, the free trade groups said OTC would be an administrative body which would speedily settle international trade disputes arising from U.S. participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

WHAT ANTI-OTC LOBBIES WANTED -- Opponents of OTC were led by the American Tariff League and the Nation-Wide Committee of Industry, Agriculture and Labor on Import-Export Policy. Opponents said U.S. participation in OTC would mean Congressional approval of GATT and be a "dangerous delegation of... (Congressional)... authority" over trade and other domestic matters to an international body.

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- The House Ways and Means Committee reported a bill (HR 5550) to authorize U.S. membership in OTC, but the bill was never voted on. (See p. 372)

Social Security

WHAT PRO-SOCIAL SECURITY LOBBIES WANTED

-- The Townsend Plan, National Institute for Social Welfare and the AFL-CIO led the fight for social security legislation in 1956. These groups urged paying OASI benefits to totally and permanently disabled workers before they reached the normal retirement age of 65 and lowering the age for retirement and survivors benefits for women to 62, instead of 65. The National Farmers Union joined these groups and further recommended compulsory coverage to self-employed members in their occupational fields.

WHAT OTHER GROUPS WANTED -- The American Medical Assn. and the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. led the fight opposing disability payments before retirement age. The AMA, the American Farm Bureau Federation and the American Dental Assn. opposed compulsory

coverage for the self-employed. Major lobbies on both sides of the question supported legislation extending coverage to all workers employed by somebody else.

WHAT CONGRESS DID -- Congress passed a bill (HR 7225) extending coverage to more than 200,000 additional persons, lowered the retirement age for women from 65 to 62 and established a new program of disability benefits at age 50. Congress also extended compulsory coverage to the self-employed. (See p. 909)

Other Lobby Fights

ALASKA MENTAL HEALTH BILL -- One of the most controversial pieces of legislation tackled by Congress in 1956 was a routine bill (HR 6376) designed to give the territory of Alaska responsibility for the care of its own mentally ill residents. The bill was supported by the American Medical Assn., American Psychiatric Assn. and National Assn. for Mental Health. Opponents said the bill would authorize establishment of a "concentration camp for political prisoners" and a "Siberia in Alaska for the deportation of undesirable patriots." Opponents included the American Public Relations Forum, For America League, Christian Nationalist and the Minute Women of the U.S.A. Congress passed the bill, but only after all commitment procedures, its most controversial feature, had been eliminated. (See p. 899)

POSTAL RATE INCREASE -- A hot lobby issue, as well as a hot political issue, the postal rate increase bill (HR 11380) was generally supported by post office unions and opposed by several publishing houses and newspapers. The National Assn. of Postmasters, National Assn. of Letter Carriers (AFL-CIO) and the National Assn. of Post Office Clerks supported increased postal rates to reduce the Post Office Department's deficit and increase efficiency in its operation. They were joined by the Washington Publishers Assn. and Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance which said publishing houses should bear their share of postal rates. The National Assn. of Direct Selling Cos. led the fight against postal rate increases. Joined by Street and Smith Publications and the International Allied Printing Trade, they said the Post Office Department is a public institution and should be publicly supported. The House passed a bill (HR 11380) calling for increased postal rates but time ran out on Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee consideration of the bill. (See p. 826)

ATOMIC REACTORS -- A bill authorizing the federal government to build six atomic reactors for power production set off a lobby fight between private and public power supporters. The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn., United Automobile Workers of America (AFL-CIO) and National Farmers Union urged Congress to authorize the reactors for cheaper electric power and to keep the U.S. in the field of peaceful atomic research. The National Coal Assn., Utility Workers of America (AFL-CIO) and many private power companies said the government should not enter the atomic power field. The Senate approved a bill (S 4146) calling for construction of six atomic reactors. The House killed the bill by ordering its recommittal in the fading days of the 84th Congress. (See p. 904)

Around The Capitol

Middle East Crisis

The Middle East crisis moved into its second week with the United States Nov. 5 rejecting as "unthinkable" a Soviet proposal that the U.S. and Russia jointly intervene to halt the invasion of Egypt. Other highlights of the week's activities:

Nov. 1 -- The United Nations General Assembly met at the call of the Security Council. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles offered a resolution calling for a cease-fire and a withdrawal of troops.

Nov. 2 -- The General Assembly voted, 64-5, for the U.S. resolution. Canada proposed a UN police force to patrol the Arab-Israeli borders.

Nov. 3 -- England and France rejected the cease-fire resolution. The U.S. proposed in the Assembly two resolutions to create committees to settle the Arab-Israeli and Suez conflicts.

Nov. 4 -- British and French troops embarked from Cyprus. UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold recommended establishment of a UN force to supervise cessation of hostilities. Israel said the armistice agreement of 1949 "no longer has any validity."

Nov. 5 -- The Security Council refused to consider a Soviet proposal that U.S. and Russian troops intervene in Egypt unless Britain, France and Israel withdrew within 12 hours. Israel and Egypt announced acceptance of an unconditional cease-fire. Port Said, at the northern end of the Suez Canal, fell to British and French paratroops.

Nov. 6 -- Britain and France agreed to a cease-fire on condition that their technicians remain in Egypt to clear the Suez Canal.

These were some of the Congressional comments on the situation:

Sen. Walter F. George (D Ga.) Nov. 1 said he feared the Franco-British intervention in Egypt was a "death blow" to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Sen. Allen J. Ellender Sr. (D La.) Nov. 1 suggested withdrawing U.S. aid to all nations involved in the Middle East crisis.

Sen. William F. Knowland (R Calif.) Nov. 5 suggested a series of measures to force Russian troops out of Hungary, including expulsion of the U.S.S.R. from the UN and withdrawal of diplomatic recognition.

Dulles Operation

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles Nov. 3 underwent a major operation for removal of a section of his intestine. State Department Press Officer Lincoln White told newsmen the 68-year-old Cabinet member was stricken with an intestinal cancer.

The two and one-half hour operation was performed by a team of four doctors at the Army's Walter Reed Hospital. The operation was directed by Maj. Gen. Leonard D. Heaton, the Walter Reed commandant, who also operated on President Eisenhower last June 9 to relieve a blockage of the President's small intestine caused by ileitis.

Doctors predicted the Secretary should be able to return to his State Department desk in about six weeks. Undersecretary of State Herbert Hoover Jr., son of the former President, took over as Acting Secretary of State.

AEC Security

The Atomic Energy Commission Nov. 1 said it planned to make available for public inspection records dealing with: applications, correspondence regarding proceedings, correspondence relating to interpretations, letters of opinion, filings in court proceedings to which the Commission is a party, correspondence with the courts or clerks of courts and similar records and papers not directed specifically to be withheld.

Records to be withheld include: those relating to personal information including medical records, documents prepared for use within the Commission or the executive branch of government, correspondence between the AEC and foreign governments, records and reports of investigations, documents containing restricted data or defense information, correspondence received in confidence relating to possible violations of laws or regulations and correspondence with a Member of Congress or Congressional committees that has not been released by the Member or Committee.

Capitol Briefs

JUNKE, ING FUNDS

Rep. Thurmond Chatham (D N.C.) Nov. 5 said full publicity should be given on the amount of travel expenses and counterpart funds Congressmen spend abroad. He said "many people have spoken to me about the secrecy, and I feel that it is creating a great deal of ill-will for the Congress." In a letter to Comptroller General Joseph Campbell, Chatham said "certainly it seems to me that continued secrecy is a reflection on all the members of the Congress until the figures are open to inspection." (Weekly Report, p. 1194)

AID TO EDUCATION

The U.S. Office of Education Nov. 1 said the federal government contributed \$1.6 billion to 81 educational programs in the 1954-55 school year. The expenditures included aid to local school districts crowded with children because of new federal activities, veterans education, school lunches, agricultural extension work and education of Indians.

The figure, given in a biennial report, is less than half the amount spent in the 1948-49 school year, when education of veterans under the G.I. Bill was at its peak. The amount then was \$3.5 billion, of which \$2.7 billion went into college education for veterans, the report said.

Capitol Quotes

• PRAYER -- "For many years, I have carried with me a little prayer voiced by the late Dr. Peter Marshall who was Chaplain of the U.S. Senate. It is a prayer that all men in public office, or who aspire to public office, would do well to remember. Reverend Marshall prayed: 'Oh, God, let us be either hot or cold. Let us stand for something, lest we fall for anything'." -- Sen. George H. Bender (R Ohio) Nov. 5 newsletter.

• EASTERN EUROPE -- "As Soviet Communism's grip on Eastern Europe is loosened, through force and violence in some areas, the extent of American influence on this development has inevitably been called into question. The President himself has claimed no credit for it, but the record is clear. The policy of the former Administration was the policy of 'containment'. As late as June of this year, Mr. George F. Kennan, author of the containment policy, was arguing that 'there is a finality, for better or worse, about what has occurred in Eastern Europe'. How wrong he was! By contrast, the President has never overlooked an opportunity to bespeak our hope that the satellites would be freed, and independence restored to them.... All of these statements have, of course, been ceaselessly broadcast to Eastern Europe over Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. What happened there last month may not have been the direct result, but Ike certainly hasn't discouraged the satellites' thirst for freedom!" -- Rep. Harold C. Ostertag (R N.Y.) Nov. 8 newsletter.

• TAX INEQUITY -- "A local industrial firm encouraging employee education has brought to my attention an inequity in the tax law which warrants careful examination for possible change. This firm is willing to finance the part-time education of employees who may wish to attend night and part-time classes of an academic or technical nature. However, according to the present law the employer's financial contribution to employee education is taxable as income to the person attending classes. It would appear such a law cannot be justified as it unnecessarily penalizes persons seeking more education.... In the next session of the Congress I will discuss this question at length...in the hope of introducing legislation to correct this inequity." -- Rep. Gerald R. Ford Jr. (R Mich.) Nov. 1 newsletter.

• MIDDLE EAST -- "It is my thought that if the American people had been kept abreast of the matters as they developed in the Middle East, the present situation would have been avoided.... It would appear that our Central Intelligence Agency which has been so widely advertised would have been able to get together some information as to what Britain and France intended to do.... Perhaps we need an agonizing reappraisal of the manner in which our foreign affairs are being conducted, especially as to the coordination between the State Department and... agencies such as the CIA.... Certainly we must have this reappraisal if the time has come that we must watch not only our enemies, but our allies." -- Rep. Walter Rogers (D Texas) Nov. 2 newsletter.

• EDUCATION WEEK -- "Next week this nation will observe American Education Week.... The purpose... is not merely to applaud our accomplishments. Education in this country faces many severe problems which must be solved if we are to maintain high standards of public education. Primarily the problems revolve around personnel and buildings.... We have moved from cities to suburbs, and all of these shifts make long-range planning for educational needs difficult. Many communities now have school populations of which they had no vision five or 10 years ago. We can meet these problems, and the impetus must come from the people in each community carefully assessing its needs.... To the extent these needs are met on the local and state level, federal financing becomes less in demand." -- Rep. William G. Bray (R Ind.) Nov. 8 newsletter.

• WATER -- "Ohio's remarkable industrial expansion poses a problem few people take seriously--our water supply.... Here in Ohio we use three times as much per capita as they do in other states. What are we doing to conserve and increase our supply? So far very little. Trees are of fundamental importance, yet everywhere bulldozers are tearing up such woods as are left. Towns and villages have not been zoned to preserve what trees and green spots there are.... This is our country, our land--have we no respect towards it and towards our children's children?" -- Rep. Frances Bolton (R Ohio) Nov. 3 newsletter.



CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

The Week In Congress

Landslide American voters Nov. 6 went to the polls in what may have been record numbers to return President Eisenhower and Vice President Richard M. Nixon for a second term. The President won the biggest popular vote in history and racked up 457 electoral votes in 41 states. But the Eisenhower coattails were not long enough to win him the Republican Congress for which he pleaded. On the basis of incomplete returns, it appeared the Democrats would keep their two-vote Senate majority in the 85th Congress and increase their edge in the House from 29 to 35. (Page 1327)

Senate: Standoff

In the 35 Senate races decided Nov. 6, Democrats captured four seats held by Republicans and the GOP took four held by the Democrats to leave the 49-47 Democratic majority unchanged for the next Congress. Three incumbents were defeated -- Republicans George Bender (Ohio) and Herman Welker (Idaho) and Democratic Whip Earle C. Clements (Ky.). But Democratic control of the Senate may be even shakier in the 85th Congress than it was in the 84th. Incoming Sen. Frank J. Lausche (D Ohio) has a reputation for political independence that may lead him to side with the GOP against the Democrats. The vacancy to be created by the resignation of Price Daniel (D Texas) also might be filled by a Republican. (Page 1336)

House: More Democrats

With returns still coming in, it appeared the Democrats elected 232 Members to the House of Representatives, the GOP only 200. Three undecided races seemed likely to increase the Democratic total to 235, giving them a more comfortable majority than the 29-vote lead enjoyed in the 84th Congress. There were party switches in 23 districts. Republicans picked up 10 seats previously held by Democrats, but the Democrats countered by snatching 13 seats from the hands of the GOP. (Page 1332)

Governors: Undecided

Democrats and Republicans each elected 14 governors Nov. 6, with the race for control of the Rhode Island state house still undecided. Democrats ousted Republicans in Massachusetts, Iowa, Kansas, Oregon and Washington. Republicans ousted Democrats in West Virginia, Ohio and New Mexico. Maine's Democratic Gov. Edmund S. Muskie already had been re-elected Sept. 10. The pre-election division of governors was 27 Democrats and 21 Republicans. The lineup for 1957: 28 Democrats, 19 GOP; one undecided. (Page 1364)

Opposition Congress

A precedent of 108 years was broken Nov. 6 when President Eisenhower was re-elected without the Republican Congress he coveted. Only once before, in 1848, has a President been elected without his party also winning control of the House and Senate. In 1848, Zachary Taylor, a Whig, was elected President but the Democrats won control of both chambers of Congress. Until 1956, Taylor's record remained unchallenged. All told, administrations have had to contend with opposition control of one or both chambers of Congress 15 times since the Civil War, but in all but three cases the split was the result of mid-term elections. (Page 1343)

Senate Gains, Losses

How stands President Eisenhower with the new Senate? On foreign policy, he is a bit shaky, but he still possesses a substantial, bipartisan majority. On domestic policy, he will need all his national prestige and his powers of persuasion to maneuver his program through. On their voting records and their campaign stands, 65 of the 96 Senators generally sympathize with Mr. Eisenhower's foreign policy -- so far as they were called upon to approve it. On the domestic front the election barely altered the existing lineup of Senate forces. (Page 1338)

How Lobbies Fared

Congress in 1957 will find itself under many of the same pressures from lobbyists that the 84th Congress felt in 1955-56. The last Congress pleased some lobbyists. Efforts in favor of passage of some farm legislation, the Colorado Reclamation Project, social security, highways and limited public housing were successful, at least for the time being, when legislation was enacted. But unsuccessful lobby fights in the 84th Congress portend intense pressures on these issues in 1957. (Page 1358)